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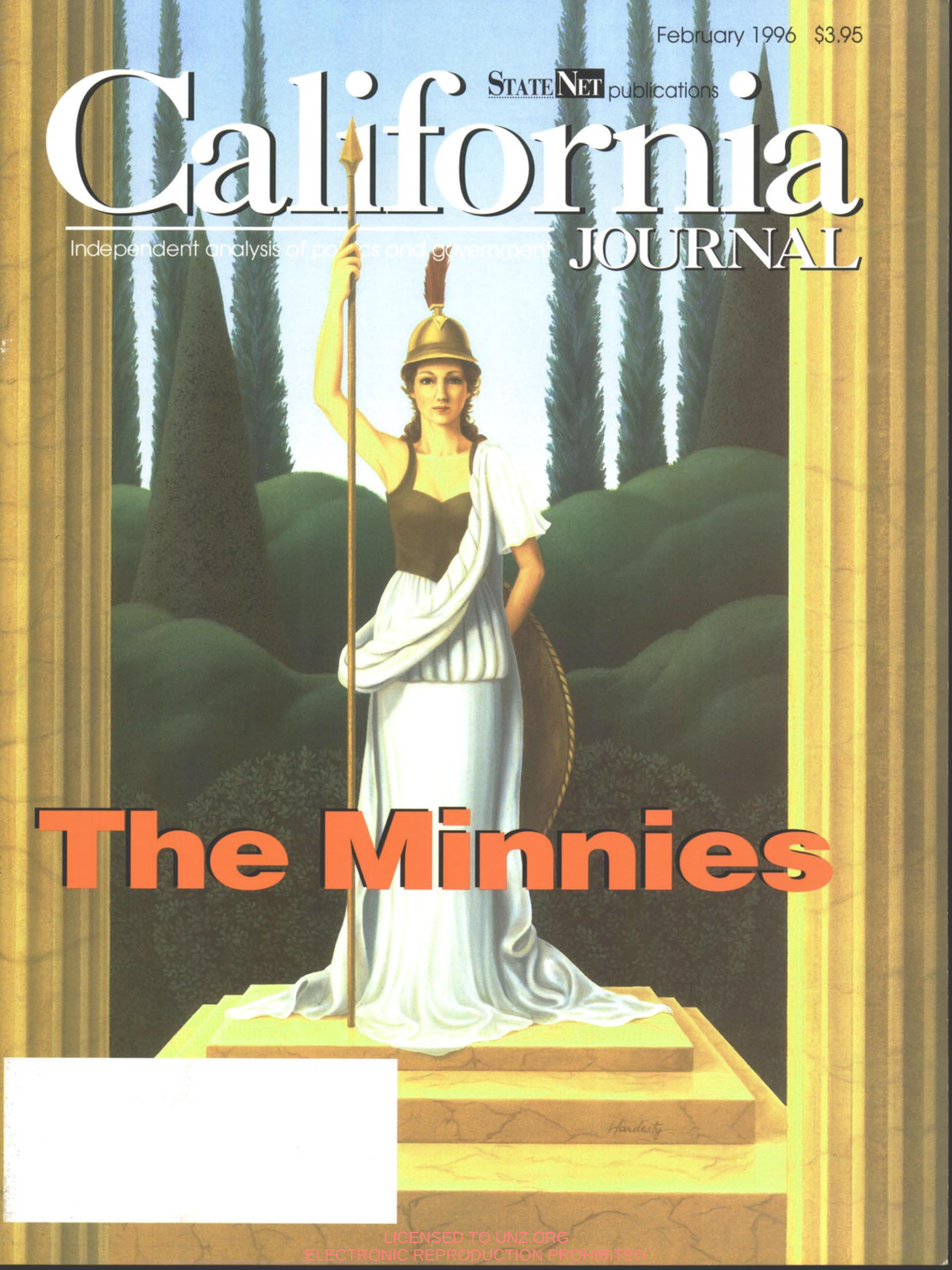

The Minnies

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Teaching in the Global Classroom

Madeline Reich, working with students from a Japanese middle school, found many similarities between Japanese and American children.

Teachers Exchange Fosters Understanding

When visiting American teacher Judy Diashyn walked into a Japanese classroom for the first time to teach a class, she wasn't quite sure what to expect. But then, the children turned to look at her, and all she saw was a sea of smiling faces. "I felt as if I were back home in America," recalls Diashyn, who teaches history at Mercy High School in Burlingame, California. "This was my classroom, and these were my students."

Diashyn was a participant in the annual U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program sponsored by Hitachi. Now in its eighth year, the exchange aims to promote mutual understanding, cultural awareness, and friendship between U.S. and Japanese citizens.

Since 1987, 60 teachers have participated in the program. For up to three weeks, participants teach in local schools, see the sights, and live with local residents.

"There is no better way to dispel misconceptions that Japanese and Americans have about each other than to spend time in each others' country," says Koichi Ueno, president of Hitachi America, Ltd. "We are glad to make this possible for Japanese and American teachers, and through them, their students."

Diashyn agrees. "My visit was the opportunity of a lifetime," she says. "It enabled me to personalize my teaching, to make Japan come alive for my students in a way that was not possible when my knowledge of Japan came only through textbooks."

A day-long visit by a group of Japanese teachers made a strong impact on students at the Winfield L. Morse School in North Tarrytown, N.Y. During the visit, the guests showed the students a video tape of a Japanese school. The next day, when Robert Cavaliero, the school's principal, entered a third grade classroom, the students stood, bowed, and greeted him in unison just as they had seen Japanese students greet their teachers in the video. "The kids were so impressed by the respect that Japanese children show for their teachers that they felt moved to do the same," he says.

For Madeline Reich, an English literature teacher at the New York School for the Deaf, the biggest surprise of the visit was not the differences between East and West but the similarities, particularly among children. For example, she observed that Japanese hearing impaired children prefer sign language just like their American counterparts even though Japanese schools emphasize oral communication. "As soon as the teachers turned their backs, the kids were signing away furiously," she recalls, adding, "It seems kids are the same all over."

Judy Diasyhn visited Japan as part of the Teachers Exchange

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the Teachers Exchange Program. We believe it is making a significant contribution to greater friendship and understanding between our countries.

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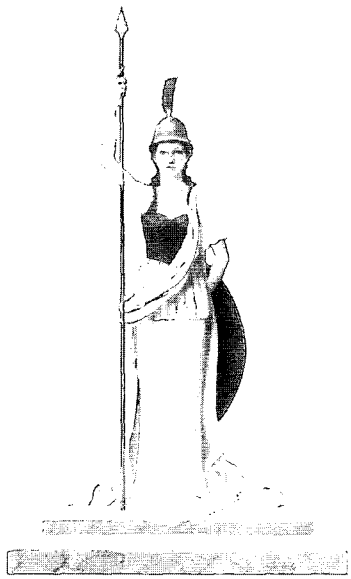

6 **The Minnies**
California Journal's fourth biennial ranking of legislators reflects the emerging Republican majority but also reveals differences in how lawmakers are viewed by those who work for the Legislature and those who do not.
By A.G. Block

16 **Leadership**
Strong, centralized leadership may no longer be possible in a Legislature stripped of stability by term limits.
By Steve Scott

28 **Third house rising**
Thanks to term limits, the business of influencing the Legislature has changed, and lobbyists must adjust to rapid turnover in membership and lawmakers with little institutional memory.
By John Borland

33 **Alan Post**
Although he retired long ago, the former legislative analyst maintains an active life of service to the community and to the state.
By Bob Schmidt

36 **The March Ballot Propositions**
California Journal's analysis of the 12 measures that go before voters in the March 1996 primary election. Included in the group are three tort-reform initiatives, a school bond proposal and controversial initiatives on mobile homes and mountain lions.

FEATURES

Up Front 4
Rostrum 5
The Bottom Line 22
Two Cents 27
Washington Perspective 48

COVER

Minerva, the goddess of wisdom who graces the state seal, serves as the model for "Aunt Minnie," *California Journal's* artistic symbol for the State of California. The February cover portrays Minnie in all her glory to commemorate the *Journal's* fourth biennial ranking of the Legislature. The painting is by Sacramento artist Debra Hardesty.

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Upfront umbrage

Questions ... questions. The Orange County District Attorney's Office is poking into the political debris left behind after the recent recall of former Speaker Doris Allen (see *CJ*, January 1996), trying to figure out among other things who sought to put a bogus Democrat on the ballot as a replacement candidate for Allen. The bogee — Laurie Campbell — was tossed off the ballot by a Sacramento judge after it was learned that Campbell did not personally collect the signatures required to get on the ballot after signing an affidavit to that effect. Turns out that those signatures were collected instead by an aide to now-Speaker Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove), who apparently rushed out just before the filing deadline to gather the needed Hancocks. Pringle himself has denied any involvement in the scam, but the offending staffer remains in the speaker's employ. Meanwhile, a couple of questions arise. How did a staffer for a Republican lawmaker know that a Democratic candidate was in need of last-second signatures? And if the staffer was mixed up in a political shennanigan of this magnitude, which answer is true: Curt Pringle lied about his involvement; or Curt Pringle's staff is out of control?

Garbage gate. Republicans are conducting a series of investigations of their own around the Capitol, trying to figure out just how many shennanigans the Democrats pulled off during the 15-year reign of former Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco). After Brown left the Legislature late last year to become mayor of San Francisco, Republicans finally wrested control over the lower house, and with that control came the keys to the kingdom — namely, Assembly computers. Republicans think there are bodies — lots and lots and lots of bodies — buried within the data on those computers, bodies which show how legislative Democrats lavished taxpayer money on themselves over the years. Republicans also hope to discover how Democrats managed their campaign machine and to prove that Brown's election operation was run on state time out of the old Office of Majority Services. To that effect, Assemblyman Larry Bowler (R-Elk Grove) last month corraled a garbage truck that had been ordered up to haul away the flotsam and jetsam of Assembly Democratic Services — the successor to Majority Services — after the GOP seized control of the Assembly. Bowler suspected that Democrats were trying to get rid of evidence, so the truck was waylaid until investigators could sift through its contents. We suspect these Republican efforts will yield a gold mine of propoganda opportunities at the very least.

Term-inated. So long, Gerry Felando. The former Republican legislator, who was brought on board as a staff consultant by former Speaker Doris Allen (R-Cypress), lost his job faster than you can say "Curt Pringle" after Republicans finally took control of the Assembly last January. Felando, whose duties were vague during Allen's brief tenure as speaker, had been paid more than $100,000 a year. His presence on staff especially incensed Republicans, who remembered Felando as a pocket vote for ex-Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco) back in the 1980s.

In the stars. Remember when stories began to circulate that Ronald Reagan consulted an astrologer before making some executive decisions? Or was it Nancy? At any rate, comes word now out of Orange County that former Treasurer Robert Citron may have sought advice from a psychic and a mail-order astrologer before making some of those heady investment decisions that sent the county into spiraling bankruptcy last year. Not surprisingly, the report about Citron's unusual circle of advisers comes at a time when the beleaguered former official is about to be sentenced for fraud in connection with the county's financial problems. His defense? Diminished mental capacity caused by dementia. His bad guys? The folks at Merrill Lynch who browbeat him into bad investments and local officials who went along with it until the roof caved in.

Shades of Norma Jean. We're not sure this is what Ross Perot had in mind when he launched the Reform Party, but one congressional candidate in San Diego, flying under the Reformist banner, has a profession to match her politics. She's a dominatrix who runs a phone sex business called the "Mistress Madison Slave Cave." Madison, 32, told the Associated Press that the United States should stop being submissive and become a dominant nation once again. The candidate, whose name before a recent legal change to Mistress Madison was Janique Kilkeary Goff-Madison, will run in the 49th District, where incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray now holds forth. Madison decided to enter the fray when she realized that some of her clients no longer could afford the $300 an hour she charges for her services. Her husband, Ragsdale, will serve as campaign manager. Seriously, folks, we're not making this up. Madison could be the most entertaining candidate since ex-cop-turned-hooker Norma Jean Almodovar ran for lieutenant governor on the Libertarian ticket in 1986.

"You can learn very little from victory [but] you can learn everything from defeat."

— Christy Mathewson

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Rostrum letters

Dream makers

Surely, you must be joking. Jim Waldorf, handgun manufacturer, part of the "California Dream" (see *CJ*, December 1995)? Part of the nightmare, perhaps, but certainly not part of the dream. How insulting to the 24 other individuals you highlighted as "Californians with the power, influence and ideas to shape the dream for generations to come." What a sad, shameful statement on your version of the "California Dream."

RICHARD KATZ
Democratic Caucus Leader
California State Assembly

Los Angeles Unified

Your story on the potential breakup of Los Angeles Unified School District (see *CJ*, December 1995) refers to me as the "founder" of Valley Advocates for Local Unified Education, or VALUE. I am not the founder. VALUE was founded by a group of business people, parents and teachers about four years ago to pursue means of breaking up LAUSD. I have been a member for three years and am currently the treasurer.

DOUGLAS LASKEN
Woodland Hills

Reebok settlement

As one of the attorneys involved in the Reebok settlement distribution, I want to address several issues raised in your item (see "Up Front," *CJ*, November 1995). The item claims that certain organizations didn't receive any money because we "mangled the notification procedure." The item fails to mention, however, that the procedures used to distribute the funds fully complied with the notice requirements established by a United States district court in approving the settlement against Reebok. All applications submitted were carefully reviewed. The item also fails to mention that the schools described as overlooked but deserving actually are members of the California Interscholastic Federation, which received the largest grant — $400,000 of the $900,000 available to California. On the other hand, Kensington will receive only $5000 of the $62,000 it requested.

LINDSAY BOWER
Department of Justice

Campaign reform

Bruce Cain may be right when he calls for broadening our thinking in search for meaningful political reform (see *CJ*, November 1995), but without ending the domination of big money over the political process, real reform is impossible. At the very least, big money buys access to politicians and with that access comes power. If we are to provide some measure of equity among competing constituencies, as well as restore people's confidence in a government viewed by many as corrupt, dramatic action must be taken. That is what the California Political Reform Initiative is all about. It is a bold, comprehensive and innovative approach to reform and goes beyond what Cain refers to as failed federal prototypes. It provides for reasonable contribution limits at all state and local elections and significant incentives for candidates to voluntarily limit spending, all without resorting to public finance. It also bars lobbyists from making or arranging contributions to those they seek to influence, limits candidate-to-candidate transfers and off-election year fund raising, and requires disclosure of top contributors in independent-expenditure committees and in ballot-measure advertising. This measure will end the domination of big money while encouraging citizen participation and debate.

TONY MILLER
Californians for Political Reform

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The Minnies

In California Journal's fourth biennial survey of the Legislature, the view from the inside the Capitol is different than the view from the outside.

By A.G. Block

How do you measure a good legislator? If lawmakers were shortstops, you could check the statistics — batting average, home runs, stolen bases, errors, double plays. But the "worth" of a senator or Assembly member is measured much more subjectively. Legislators are required to perform tasks far more subtle than diving for ground balls or smacking 90-mile-per-hour sliders. In fact, they must master an infinite array of duties, from placating grumpy constituents to mastering the nuances of state finance. They also must grasp the intricacies of maneuvering within the confines of passing or blocking legislation. And, ultimately, they must win elections.

Back in 1990, *California Journal* sought to determine the Legislature's best and brightest by means of a complicated and time-consuming survey, to be filled out by those with the most intimate knowledge of lawmakers and their abilities — lobbyists, legislative staff, administration officials who work with the Legislature, the press corps and legislators themselves. In that first survey (see *CJ*, March 1990), 220 participants rated lawmakers in seven different categories — integrity, intelligence, effectiveness, energy, flexibility, conviviality and potential. Each

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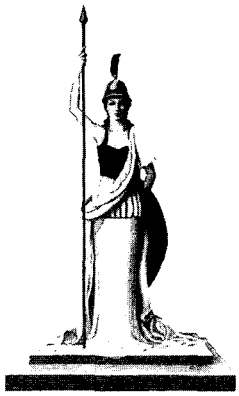
lawmaker was given a score of "10" (highest) to "1" (lowest) in each category. An overall ranking was determined based on a combination of the first four categories. Since then, we have refined the survey, but the basic scoring scheme has remained the same. We cautioned at the time, and we caution again, that the results should not be viewed as a scientific poll but as 200-plus individual interviews about legislators. The current categories are:



- **intelligence:** Pure brain-power. Who are the brightest members, regardless of how this gift might be used?
- **integrity:** Who best holds to the principles that he or she espouses? Is this member honest? Is this member trustworthy? Does this member do what he or she says he or she will do?
- **energy:** Who works hard and puts the most effort into the job?
- **effectiveness:** Who has the power to make things happen and the technical skill or knowledge to get things done?

Integrity

James Rogan

Tom Campbell

Assembly

1. Rogan	8.06	46. V.Brown	5.80		
2. Kuehl	7.75	47. Morrow	5.78		
3. Takasugi	7.70	48. Kaloogian	5.77		
4. Aguiar	7.43	48. Villaraigosa	5.77		
5. Poochigian	7.41	50. Baldwin	5.76		
6. Rainey	7.35	51. Knowles	5.75		
7. Cunneen	7.25	52. Hauser	5.74		
8. McPherson	7.23	53. Pringle	5.68		
9. Bordonaro	7.10	54. Cannella	5.55		
10. Campbell	7.07	55. Thompson	5.53		
11. Isenberg	7.04	56. Napolitano	5.51		
12. Firestone	7.00	57. Margett	5.42		
12. Setencich	7.00	58. Burton	5.39		
14. Alpert	6.99	59. Alby	5.37		
15. Weggeland	6.80	60. Lee	5.31		
16. Frusetta	6.71	61. Escutia	5.28		
17. Hannigan	6.70	62. Conroy	5.21		
18. Speier	6.61	63. Goldsmith	5.16		
19. House	6.56	64. Richter	5.11		
20. Woods	6.52	65. K.Murray	5.10		
21. Bates	6.51	66. Machado	5.04		
22. Sher	6.44	67. McDonald	5.03		
23. Olberg	6.42	68. Cortese	4.92		
24. Battin	6.41	69. Bustamante	4.87		
25. Hawkins	6.38	70. Katz	4.81		
26. Sweeney	6.35	71. Hoge	4.79		
27. Davis	6.30	72. Bowler	4.48		
28. Knox	6.28	73. Granlund	4.47		
28. Mazzoni	6.28	74. Baca	4.43		
30. Brewer	6.27	75. Tucker	4.25		
30. Caldera	6.27	76. W.Brown	4.12		
32. Knight	6.23	77. Martinez	4.06		
33. Bowen	6.18	77. W.Murray	4.06		
34. Harvey	6.17	79. Allen	3.46		
35. Friedman	6.15				
35. Vasconcellos	6.15				
37. Archie-Hudson	6.12				
38. Boland	6.02				
38. Figueroa	6.02				
40. Kuykendall	5.99	Previous #1s:			
41. Miller	5.96	1990: Lloyd Connelly			
42. Gallegos	5.91	1992: Lloyd Connelly			
43. Brulte	5.84	1994: Phil Isenberg			
44. Ducheny	5.83				
44. Morrissey	5.83				

Senate

1. Campbell	7.96
2. O'Connell	7.20
3. Killea	7.19
4. Kopp	7.02
5. Craven	6.98
6. Russell	6.92
7. Maddy	6.86
8. Johnston	6.83
9. Petris	6.81
10. Leonard	6.76
11. Beverly	6.59
12. Solis	6.46
13. Leslie	6.34
14. Alquist	6.24
15. Kelley	6.17
16. Hayden	6.15
17. Rosenthal	6.09
18. Dills	5.95
19. Thompson	5.82
20. Greene	5.66
21. Johnson	5.61
22. Monteith	5.56
23. Haynes	5.53
24. Ayala	5.47
25. Rogers	5.41
26. Johannessen	5.34
26. Wright	5.34
28. Lewis	5.30
29. Marks	5.26
30. Hughes	5.20
31. Hurtt	5.18
32. Watson	5.10
33. Lockyer	5.08
34. Polanco	5.06
35. Peace	4.74
36. Mountjoy	4.64
37. Costa	4.58
38. Boatwright	4.50
39. Calderon	4.23
40. Mello	3.97
Previous #1s:	
1990: Gary Hart	
1992: Gary Hart	
1994: Gary Hart	

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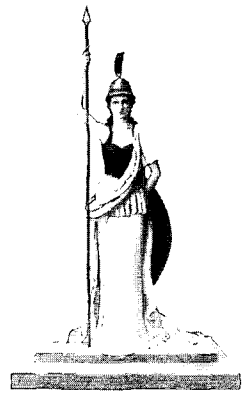
• **problem-solving:** Who are the best at helping find solutions to problems?

• **potential:** Who has the ability to move up the political ladder?

• **overall:** a combination of all categories except potential.

Since 1990, the *Journal's* biennial survey of the Legislature has become something of an event. It even has taken on a name of its own — "the Minnies" after the goddess Minerva, who graces the California state seal. Campaign strategists especially want to see the results, for they become important campaign tools — both for and against legislators. Sometimes, they are used on both sides of a contest, as evidenced by the use of 1994 rankings in the recent San Francisco mayoral race. Incumbent Frank Jordan called attention to the fact that his opponent, former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco), was ranked 74th out of 79 in integrity. Brown's campaign, on the other hand, responded by pointing out that its guy finished first in intelligence, effectiveness and en-



Intelligence

Willie Brown

Tom Campbell

Assembly

1. W.Brown	9.30
2. Isenberg	8.91
3. Rogan	8.62
4. Kuehl	8.50
5. Poochigian	7.90
6. Sher	7.82
7. Katz	7.69
8. Pringle	7.68
9. Brulte	7.63
10. Aguiar	7.61
11. Caldera	7.52
12. Speier	7.47
13. Burton	7.39
14. Bowen	7.22
15. Cunneen	7.20
16. Vasconcellos	7.19
17. Hannigan	7.11
18. Knox	7.08
19. Olberg	7.01
20. Kaloogian	7.00
21. McPherson	6.93
22. Alpert	6.77
23. Rainey	6.67
24. Campbell	6.65
25. Bordonaro	6.61
25. Goldsmith	6.61
27. Villaraigosa	6.60
28. Knowles	6.47
29. Archie-Hudson	6.44
30. Battin	6.40
30. Takasugi	6.40
30. Weggeland	6.40
33. Firestone	6.38
34. Bates	6.35
35. Miller	6.32
35. K.Murray	6.32
37. V.Brown	6.24
38. Kuykendall	6.12
39. Friedman	6.08
40. Morrow	6.06
41. Sweeney	6.06
42. Richter	5.98
43. Woods	5.94
44. Brewer	5.87
44. Hauser	5.87
44. Setencich	5.87
47. Davis	5.86
48. Hawkins	5.85
49. Ducheny	5.81
50. Mazzoni	5.78
51. Harvey	5.56
52. Hoge	5.55
53. Bustamante	5.54
53. Tucker	5.54
55. Gallegos	5.51
56. Cannella	5.44
57. Escutia	5.40
58. Baldwin	5.39
59. Thompson	5.31
60. Granlund	5.27
61. Machado	5.26
62. Lee	5.25
63. Margett	5.16
64. Figueroa	5.10
65. McDonald	5.08
66. Knight	4.97
66. Morrissey	4.97
68. House	4.87
69. Cortese	4.76
70. Boland	4.75
71. Martinez	4.73
72. Frusetta	4.64
73. Bowler	4.61
74. Alby	4.57
75. Conroy	4.35
76. Napolitano	4.33
77. W.Murray	3.96
78. Baca	3.90
79. Allen	2.74

Previous #1s:
1990: Willie Brown Jr.
1992: Willie Brown Jr.
1994: Willie Brown Jr.

Senate

1. Campbell	8.71
2. Kopp	8.64
3. Lockyer	8.25
4. Maddy	7.92
5. Johnston	7.57
6. Peace	7.43
7. O'Connell	7.32
8. Leonard	7.28
9. Hayden	7.26
10. Petris	6.96
11. Hurtt	6.89
12. Thompson	8.64
13. Johnson	6.82
14. Boatwright	6.75
15. Killea	6.67
16. Costa	6.45
17. Calderon	6.44
18. Leslie	6.26
19. Greene	6.25
20. Beverly	6.20
21. Russell	6.18
22. Lewis	6.10
23. Craven	6.06
24. Alquist	6.04
25. Solis	6.02
26. Polanco	6.00
27. Dills	5.93
28. Haynes	5.85
29. Kelley	5.66
30. Rosenthal	5.41
31. Watson	5.20
32. Johannessen	4.99
33. Mountjoy	4.92
34. Mello	4.78
35. Wright	4.69
36. Rogers	4.64
37. Monteith	4.62
38. Ayala	4.57
39. Marks	4.49
40. Hughes	4.47

Previous #1s:
1990: Quentin Kopp
1992: Quentin Kopp
1994: Quentin Kopp

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ergy. Four years ago, the overall winner in the Senate — Democrat Pat Johnston of Stockton — publicly pooh-poohed the honor, saying it didn't mean all that much. Later that same year, one of his campaign mailers looked just like an issue of *California Journal*, complete with portions of the article detailing his success.

Now comes the fourth bienniel survey and, in some ways, the effort was more successful than ever. The survey included all 40 members of the Senate and 79 of the 80 members of the Assembly,

with rookie Assemblyman Dick Ackermann (R-Arcadia) excluded because he had not served long enough to be fairly evaluated. We distributed 1983 surveys and received the highest number of responses — 297, or 15 percent. The largest number of responses — 132 — came from legislative staff, with 92 from lobbyists, 44 from legislators, 20 from the press corps and nine from high officials of the executive branch. The breakdown is important.

The 1996 survey is significant for several

Willie Brown

effectiveness

Bill Locyer

Assembly

1. W.Brown	8.45	46. Ducheny	5.13	1. Lockyer	7.91
2. Rogan	7.44	47. Richter	5.12	2. Kopp	7.26
3. Pringle	7.16	48. Hauser	5.08	3. Johnston	7.16
4. Poochigian	7.12	49. Boland	5.06	4. Campbell	6.94
5. Isenberg	7.04	50. Mazzoni	5.03	5. Maddy	6.74
6. Speier	6.96	51. Davis	4.99	6. O'Connell	6.73
7. Aguiar	6.92	52. Sweeney	4.95	7. Hurtt	6.63
8. Katz	6.67	53. Cannella	4.91	8. Thompson	6.52
9. Kuehl	6.59	54. McDonald	4.88	9. Leonard	6.43
10. Cunneen	6.41	55. Gallegos	4.86	10. Leslie	6.31
11. Rainey	6.36	56. Thompson	4.84	11. Costa	6.30
12. Setencich	6.26	57. Hoge	4.81	12. Peace	6.16
13. Alpert	6.25	58. Tucker	4.80	13. Calderon	6.13
14. Brulte	6.23	59. Figueroa	4.74	14. Polanco	6.03
15. Hannigan	6.21	60. Baldwin	4.69	15. Killea	5.99
16. McPherson	6.20	61. Machado	4.58	16. Boatwright	5.87
17. Olberg	6.06	62. Lee	4.56	17. Johnson	5.65
18. Bordonaro	6.03	62. Margett	4.56	18. Petris	5.61
19. Bowen	5.95	62. Morrissey	4.56	19. Russell	5.48
20. Sher	5.90	65. Conroy	4.51	20. Alquist	5.47
21. Burton	5.79	65. House	4.51	21. Solis	5.40
22. Friedman	5.67	67. Granlund	4.46	22. Greene	5.38
23. V.Brown	5.66	68. Knight	4.43	23. Beverly	5.29
24. Battin	5.65	69. Bates	4.40	24. Kelley	5.27
25. Knowles	5.63	70. Alby	4.38	25. Lewis	5.09
26. Archie-Hudson	5.62	70. Cortese	4.38	26. Dills	5.08
26. Firestone	5.62	70. Escutia	4.38	27. Craven	5.02
28. Kaloogian	5.52	73. Frusetta	4.24	28. Haynes	4.96
29. Knox	5.50	74. Bowler	4.10	29. Mello	4.89
30. Takasugi	5.47	75. Napolitano	4.09	30. Watson	4.70
31. Caldera	5.46	76. Baca	3.96	31. Rosenthal	4.68
32. Villaraigosa	5.44	77. Martinez	3.57	32. Wright	4.67
33. Brewer	5.43	78. W.Murray	3.53	33. Hayden	4.61
33. Weggeland	5.43	79. Allen	2.15	34. Johannessen	4.59
35. Vasconcellos	5.42			35. Mountjoy	4.56
36. Harvey	5.41	Previous #1s:		36. Ayala	4.54
36. Kuykendall	5.41	1990: Willie Brown Jr.		37. Monteith	4.32
38. Goldsmith	5.34	1992: Willie Brown Jr.		38. Hughes	4.21
39. Campbell	5.33	1994: Willie Brown Jr.		39. Rogers	4.12
40. Woods	5.29			40. Marks	3.45
41. Miller	5.27				
41. K.Murray	5.27			Presvious #1s:	
43. Hawkins	5.24			1990: David Roberti	
44. Bustamante	5.21			1992: David Roberti	
45. Morrow	5.16			1994: David Roberti	

Senate

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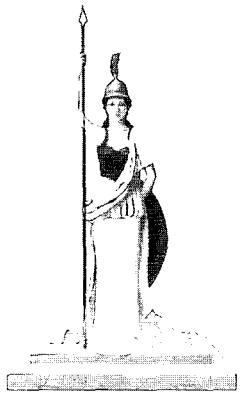
reasons. First, it is the first since the 1994 elections, which brought many new members to the Legislature and swept away Democratic hegemony over the Assembly. In the three previous surveys (1990, 1992 and 1994), Democrats held sway over both the Assembly and Senate, and Democratic staff was substantially larger than GOP staff — a fact frequently cited by Republicans as a reason for the often poor showing by members of their Assembly caucus. But as has been explained in the past, GOP lawmakers achieved virtually the same scores from



non-partisan lobbyists and the press corps as they did from legislative staff.

Although the overall results still pass the "smell test," similar scoring from all groups of respondents is a trend that did not continue in 1996. The Minnies, it seems, have taken on some of the trappings of an election: Those who are organized and committed and are able to march their troops to the polls influence the results. This year, Republicans made an effort to ensure that their staffs and members completed the survey.

Willie Brown

energy

Bill Lockyer

Assembly

1. W.Brown	8.24
2. Pringle	8.18
3. Kuehl	7.83
4. Rogan	7.77
5. Setencich	7.63
6. Isenberg	7.59
7. Poochigian	7.51
8. Katz	7.30
9. Aguiar	7.29
10. Brulte	7.28
11. Cunneen	7.19
12. Speier	7.18
13. Bowen	6.97
14. Olberg	6.89
15. Kaloogian	6.85
16. Villaraigosa	6.76
17. Bordonaro	6.72
18. Alpert	6.66
18. Knowles	6.66
20. Archie-Hudson	6.64
21. Richter	6.60
22. McPherson	6.52
23. Burton	6.49
24. Caldera	6.41
25. Battin	6.38
26. Rainey	6.34
27. V.Brown	6.31
28. Baldwin	6.26
29. Friedman	6.25
30. Knox	6.19
31. Firestone	6.16
32. Goldsmith	6.14
33. Harvey	6.07
34. Bowler	6.03
35. Woods	6.03
36. Campbell	6.02
37. Kuykendall	5.97
38. Vasconcellos	5.98
39. Miller	5.95
40. Sher	5.93
41. Brewer	5.92
42. Thompson	5.91
43. K.Murray	5.87
44. Bustamante	5.85
45. Ducheny	5.82
46. Mazzoni	5.79
47. Figueroa	5.72
47. Weggeland	5.72
49. Hawkins	5.69
50. Davis	5.67
50. McDonald	5.67
52. Hannigan	5.63
53. Boland	5.55
53. Martinez	5.55
55. Morrow	5.51
56. Takasugi	5.47
57. Sweeney	5.44
58. Alby	5.38
59. Lee	5.28
60. Gallegos	5.27
61. Escutia	5.26
62. Hoge	5.25
63. Machado	5.24
64. Bates	5.21
65. Cannella	5.17
66. House	5.12
67. Morrissey	5.10
68. Margett	5.03
69. Conroy	4.98
69. Hauser	4.98
71. Granlund	4.91
72. Napolitano	4.85
73. Frusetta	4.82
73. Tucker	4.82
75. Baca	4.56
76. Knight	4.52
77. Cortese	4.20
78. W.Murray	3.48
79. Allen	3.31

Previous #1s:
1990: Willie Brown Jr.
1992: Willie Brown Jr.
1994: Willie Brown Jr.

Senate

1. Lockyer	7.92
2. Campbell	7.85
3. Kopp	7.81
4. Hurtt	7.24
5. Peace	7.21
6. O'Connell	7.11
7. Johnson	7.04
8. Leonard	6.83
8. Polanco	6.83
10. Hayden	6.81
11. Thompson	6.79
12. Leslie	6.66
13. Costa	6.35
14. Solis	6.25
15. Haynes	6.20
16. Killea	6.18
17. Calderon	6.17
18. Maddy	6.15
19. Johnson	5.86
20. Boatwright	5.80
21. Russell	5.62
22. Johannessen	5.48
23. Watson	5.43
24. Wright	5.35
25. Mountjoy	5.28
26. Kelley	5.25
27. Greene	5.24
27. Lewis	5.24
29. Petris	5.23
30. Monteith	5.08
31. Rogers	4.68
32. Beverly	4.56
33. Rosenthal	4.50
34. Dills	4.49
35. Hughes	4.37
36. Mello	4.30
37. Ayala	4.16
38. Craven	3.98
39. Alquist	3.85
40. Marks	3.06

Previous #1s:
1990: Quentin Kopp
1992: Quentin Kopp
1994: Quentin Kopp

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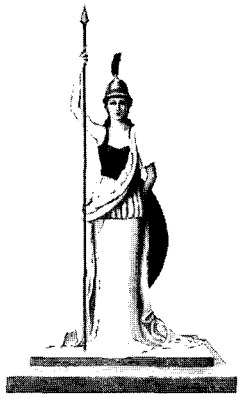
Thus, scores from legislative staff and legislators differed from those given by lobbyists, administration officials and the press corps. For some lawmakers, the scores differed dramatically (see chart, page 15).

Naturally, the difference favored Republicans. Almost to a person, GOP legislators, especially in the Assembly, scored higher among staff and legislators than among lobbyists and the press corps. Given that the former two groups accounted for 59 percent of the "ballots," Republicans received a boost. Scores from lawmakers mirrored those from staff almost exactly, while those from press corps tended to be the lowest given to all lawmakers. Reporters and columnists were especially harsh on conservative Republicans in both houses. Fortunately for the GOP, the press accounted for slightly less than 7 percent of the surveys. *Journal* editors did not vote.



Assemblyman Pete Knight (R-Palmdale) received the biggest individual bump. Knight, who is running for the state Senate this year, scored 37

Willie Brown

problem solving

Tom Campbell

Assembly

1. W.Brown	7.80	46. Davis	5.10		
2. Rogan	7.40	46. Mazzoni	5.10		
3. Isenberg	7.35	48. Hawkins	5.06		
4. Poochigian	7.07	49. Bustamante	5.00		
5. Aguiar	6.78	50. Morrow	4.99		
6. Kuehl	6.73	50. Richter	4.99		
7. Cunneen	6.44	52. Boland	4.81		
8. Speier	6.43	53. Gallegos	4.79		
9. Pringle	6.34	54. Cannella	4.77		
10. Katz	6.26	55. Hoge	4.70		
11. Alpert	6.25	56. Bates	4.63		
11. Hannigan	6.25	57. Figueroa	4.62		
13. Rainey	6.24	58. Machado	4.59		
14. McPherson	6.14	58. Thompson	4.59		
15. Brulte	6.10	60. McDonald	4.56		
16. Setencich	6.03	60. Tucker	4.56		
17. Bordonaro	5.94	62. Morrissey	4.48		
18. Sher	5.88	63. Margett	4.47		
19. Bowen	5.82	64. House	4.44		
20. Olberg	5.76	65. Baldwin	4.41		
21. Firestone	5.67	66. Granlund	4.39		
22. Friedman	5.55	67. Escutia	4.37		
22. Weggeland	5.55	68. Knight	4.30		
24. Knox	5.54	69. Lee	4.28		
25. Goldsmith	5.50	70. Conroy	4.26		
25 Campbell	5.50	70. Cortese	4.26		
27. Battin	5.48	70. Frusetta	4.26		
27. Takasugi	5.48	73. Alby	4.12		
29. V.Brown	5.45	74. Napolitano	4.05		
30. Caldera	5.42	75. Baca	3.67		
31. Burton	5.38	76. Bowler	3.64		
31. Vasconcellos	5.38	77. W.Murray	3.36		
33. Kuykendall	5.35	78. Martinez	3.26		
34. Archie-Hudson	5.30	79. Allen	2.16		
34.Miller	5.30				
36. Knowles	5.26	Previous #1s:			
36. Brewer	5.26	1990: Not a category			
38. Villaraigosa	5.24	1992: Phil Isenberg			
39. Kaloogian	5.23	1994: Phil Isenberg			
40. Harvey	5.22				
41. Woods	5.19				
41. Ducheny	5.19				
43. Sweeney	5.13				
44. Hauser	5.12				
44. K.Murray	5.12				

Senate

1. Campbell	7.48
2. Lockyer	7.14
3. Maddy	7.01
4. Johnston	6.94
5. Kopp	6.86
6. O'Connell	6.70
7. Thompson	6.23
8. Killea	6.15
8. Leonard	6.15
10. Leslie	6.14
11. Costa	6.09
12. Peace	5.77
13. Polanco	5.73
14. Calderon	5.69
15. Boatwright	5.63
16. Johnson	5.46
16. Petris	5.46
18. Russell	5.41
19. Solis	5.33
20. Beverly	5.20
21. Craven	5.19
22. Greene	5.14
23. Kelley	5.13
24. Alquist	5.02
24. Hurtt	5.02
26. Lewis	4.81
27. Hayden	4.72
28. Dills	4.70
28. Rosenthal	4.70
30. Wright	4.60
31. Haynes	4.58
32. Watson	4.47
33. Mello	4.34
34. Ayala	4.33
35. Monteith	4.28
36. Johannessen	4.23
37. Hughes	4.11
37. Mountjoy	4.11
39. Rogers	3.97
40. Marks	3.36
Previous #1s:	
1990: Not a category	
1992: Ken Maddy	
1994: Pat Johnston	

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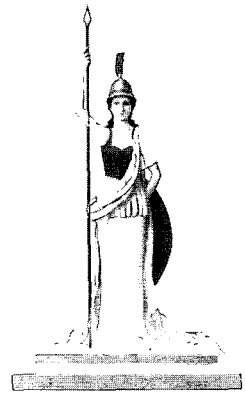
percent higher among staff than among lobbyists. Assemblyman Larry Bowler (R-Elk Grove) was not far behind at 33 percent. Not that the boost propelled either lawmaker very far up the ladder; Knight finished 68th overall; Bowler tied for 73rd. On the flip side, Assemblyman Joe Baca (D-Rialto), who finished 77th, scored 28 percent lower among staff than among lobbyists. Twenty-four Assembly members scored at least 10 percent better among staff — and all are Republicans. On the other hand, 32 Assembly members scored at least 10 percent lower among staff than among lobbyists — and all but two are Democrats.



The two Republicans? Former Speakers Doris Allen (R-Cypress) and Brian Setencich (R-Fresno).

The swings were not as pronounced in the Senate. Seven senators scored at least 10 percent higher among staff, and all are Republicans. Twelve senators scored at least 10 percent lower among staff, and all but Lucy Killea (I-San Diego) are Democrats.

Is this the reason that, for the first time, a pair

James Rogan

potential

Tom Campbell

Assembly

1. Rogan	8.04
2. Aguiar	7.67
3. Poochigian	7.62
4. Pringle	7.46
5. Kuehl	7.21
6. Cunneen	7.06
7. W.Brown	6.69
8. Setencich	6.56
9. Brulte	6.52
10. Rainey	6.50
11. Speier	6.47
12. McPherson	6.46
12. Olberg	6.46
14. Bordonaro	6.26
15. Katz	6.21
16. Alpert	6.16
17. Knox	6.15
18. Isenberg	6.12
19. Bowen	5.99
19. Battin	5.99
21. Caldera	5.95
22. Firestone	5.94
22. Villaraigosa	5.94
24. Kaloogian	5.91
25. Miller	5.71
26. V.Brown	5.69
27. K.Murray	5.68
28. Archie-Hudson	5.56
29. Bewer	5.51
30. Bustamante	5.48
31. Kuykendall	5.46
32. Sher	5.45
32. Goldsmith	5.45
34. Knowles	5.39
34. Takasugi	5.39
36. Burton	5.37
37. Hawkins	5.34
38. Davis	5.31
39. Friedman	5.30
39. Harvey	5.30
41. Campbell	5.26
41. Woods	5.26
43. Morrow	5.25
44. Ducheny	5.17
45. Mazzoni	5.13
46. Sweeney	5.11
47. Weggeland	5.09
48. Richter	5.00
49. Thompson	4.99
50. Hannigan	4.98
50. Baldwin	4.98
52. Gallegos	4.92
53. Figueroa	4.89
54. Vasconcellos	4.88
55. Hoge	4.84
56. McDonald	4.75
57. Machado	4.71
58. Boland	4.68
59. Margett	4.66
60. Granlund	4.63
61. House	4.60
62. Tucker	4.59
63. Morrissey	4.58
64. Escutia	4.56
65. Knight	4.53
66. Lee	4.51
67. Cannella	4.36
68. Hauser	4.34
69. Frusetta	4.19
70. Alby	4.18
71. Conroy	4.13
71. Bowler	4.13
73. Napolitano	3.91
74. Baca	3.87
75. Bates	3.81
76. Cortese	3.79
77. Martinez	3.54
78. W.Murray	3.10
79. Allen	1.60

Previous #1s:
1990: Bruce Bronzan
1992: Phil Isenberg
1994: Phil Isenberg

Senate

1. Campbell	7.70
2. Lockyer	7.09
3. Hurtt	7.07
4. Johnston	6.95
5. O'Connell	6.91
6. Kopp	6.59
7. Thompson	6.49
8. Polanco	6.18
9. Leslie	6.16
10. Leonard	6.07
11. Costa	5.96
12. Calderon	5.89
13. Solis	5.79
14. Peace	5.75
15. Johnson	5.65
16. Maddy	5.60
17. Haynes	5.29
18. Lewis	5.22
19. Kelley	4.86
19. Killea	4.86
21. Johannessen	4.70
22. Hayden	4.69
23. Monteith	4.56
24. Wright	4.38
25. Russell	4.36
26. Mountjoy	4.23
27. Boatwright	4.19
28. Petris	4.15
29. Watson	4.09
30. Beverly	3.77
30. Greene	3.77
32. Hughes	3.72
32. Rogers	3.72
34. Craven	3.71
35. Rosenthal	3.51
36. Ayala	3.42
37. Dills	3.29
38. Mello	3.18
39. Alquist	3.09
40. Marks	2.65

Previous #1s:
1990: Gary Hart
1992: Pat Johnston
1994: Pat Johnston

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of Republicans finished at the top? Probably not. In the Senate, top-rated Senator Tom Campbell (R-Saratoga), now a member of Congress, and runner-up Senator Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco) both finished high among all groups. The top four finishers in the Assembly also scored about equally among all respondents. If the top four finishers are re-scored, using the same rankings for staff and lobbyists, the results are a bit closer, but the winner still is Assemblyman Jim Rogan (R-Glendale).

Thus, even allowing for the skewing of some

results based on a more aggressive response from Republicans, the results still pass the "common sense" test. While observers may argue whether a particular lawmaker deserves to finish 17th rather than 22nd, we could find no instance where a legislator who finished in the bottom 10 percent deserved to be in the top 10 percent.

The heavy lifting on the 1996 Minnies was performed by editorial assistant Keena Lipsitz. A.G. Block is editor of the Journal.

James Rogan

overall

Tom Campbell

Assembly

1. Rogan	7.86	46. Richter	5.56		
2. Isenberg	7.59	46. Ducheny	5.56		
3. W.Brown	7.58	48. K.Murray	5.54		
4. Kuehl	7.48	49. Morrow	5.50		
5. Poochigian	7.40	50. Bates	5.42		
6. Aguiar	7.21	51. Hauser	5.36		
7. Pringle	7.01	52. Baldwin	5.30		
8. Speier	6.93	53. Bustamante	5.29		
9. Cunneen	6.90	54. Gallegos	5.27		
10. Brulte	6.62	55. Boland	5.24		
11. McPherson	6.60	55. Figueroa	5.24		
12. Rainey	6.59	55. Thompson	5.24		
13. Alpert	6.58	58. Cannella	5.17		
14. Setencich	6.56	59. House	5.10		
15. Katz	6.55	60. McDonald	5.04		
16. Bordonaro	6.48	61. Hoge	5.02		
17. Bowen	6.43	62. Morrissey	4.99		
17. Olberg	6.43	63. Escutia	4.94		
19. Sher	6.39	63. Lee	4.94		
20. Hannigan	6.38	63. Machado	4.94		
21. Caldera	6.22	66. Frusetta	4.93		
22. Firestone	6.17	66. Margett	4.93		
23. Knox	6.12	68. Knight	4.89		
24. Campbell	6.11	69. Tucker	4.79		
25. Takasugi	6.10	70. Alby	4.76		
26. Burton	6.09	71. Granlund	4.70		
27. Kaloogian	6.07	72. Conroy	4.66		
28. Battin	6.06	73. Bowler	4.57		
29. Archie-Hudson	6.02	73. Napolitano	4.57		
29. Vasconcellos	6.02	75. Cortese	4.50		
31. Weggeland	5.98	76. Martinez	4.23		
32. Villaraigosa	5.96	77. Baca	4.10		
33. Knowles	5.95	78. W.Murray	3.68		
34. Friedman	5.94	79. Allen	2.76		
35. V.Brown	5.89				
36. Woods	5.79	Previous #1s:			
37. Kuykendall	5.77	1990: Lloyd Connelly			
38. Miller	5.76	1992: Phil Isenberg			
39. Bewer	5.75	1994: Phil Isenberg			
39. Goldsmith	5.75				
41. Harvey	5.69				
42. Hawkins	5.64				
43. Mazzoni	5.60				
44. Sweeney	5.59				
45. Davis	5.58				

Senate

1. Campbell	7.79
2. Kopp	7.52
3. Lockyer	7.26
4. Johnston	7.11
5. O'Connell	7.01
6. Maddy	6.94
7. Leonard	6.69
8. Thompson	6.44
8. Killea	6.44
10. Leslie	6.34
11. Peace	6.26
12. Hurtt	6.19
13. Petris	6.01
14. Costa	5.95
15. Polanco	5.93
16. Russell	5.92
17. Hayden	5.91
18. Solis	5.89
19. Johnson	5.88
20. Calderon	5.73
21. Boatwright	5.71
22. Beverly	5.57
23. Greene	5.53
24. Kelley	5.50
25. Craven	5.45
26. Haynes	5.42
27. Alquist	5.32
28. Lewis	5.31
29. Dills	5.23
30. Rosenthal	5.08
31. Watson	4.98
32. Wright	4.93
32. Johannessen	4.93
34. Monteith	4.77
35. Mountjoy	4.70
36. Ayala	4.61
37. Rogers	4.56
38. Hughes	4.47
39. Mello	4.46
40. Marks	3.92
Previous #1s:	
1990: Bob Presley	
1992: Pat Johnston	
1994: Pat Johnston	

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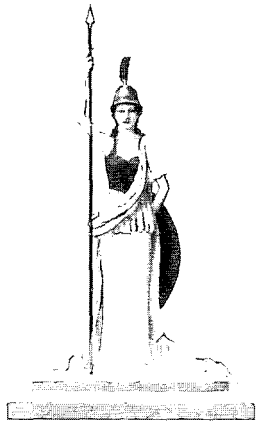
BOOSTER CLUB



For the first time in Minnie history, rankings differed among the various groups surveyed. The following charts compare "overall" rankings from the two groups with the greatest number of responses — lobbyists (92 surveys returned) and legislative staff (132 surveys returned). Scoring from the 44 legislators who responded mirrored almost exactly that of staff, while the 20 responses from the press corps and nine from administration officials most closely resembled that from lobbyists.

ASSEMBLY

CJ ASSEMBLY	P	LOB	STAFF
1. ROGAN	R	5	1
2. ISENBERG	D	3	2
3. W.BROWN	D	1	3
4. KUEHL	D	2	5
5. POOCHIGIAN	R	6	4
6. AGUIAR	R	9	7
7. PRINGLE	R	20	6
8. SPEIER	D	4	12
9. CUNNEEN	R	18	8
10. BRULTE	R	24	11
11. MCPHERSON	R	33	10
12. RAINEY	R	34	9
13. ALPERT	D	7	23
14. SETENCICH	R	11	17
15. KATZ	D	10	25
16. BORDONARO	R	27	14
17. BOWEN	D	13	23
17. OLBERG	R	35	13
19. SHER	D	8	32
20. HANNIGAN	D	15	19
21. CALDERA	D	17	31
22. FIRESTONE	R	53	16
23. KNOX	D	14	33
24. CAMPBELL	D	25	27
25. TAKASUGI	R	49	15
26. BURTON	D	31	26
27. KALOOGIAN	R	43	22
28. BATTIN	R	48	20
29. ARCHIE-HUDSON	D	21	36
29. VASCONCELLOS	D	12	39
31. WEGGELAND	R	52	21
32. VILLARAIGOSA	D	16	43
33. KNOWLES	R	53	18
34. FRIEDMAN	D	22	39
35. V.BROWN	D	18	44
36. WOODS	R	46	29
37. KUYKENDALL	R	57	30
38. MILLER	R	58	28
39. BREWER	R	56	36
39. GOLDSMITH	R	38	41
41. HARVEY	R	51	38
42. HAWKINS	R	59	34
43. MAZZONI	D	29	52
44. SWEENEY	D	28	49
45. DAVIS	D	23	55
46. DUCHENY	D	26	56
46. RICHTER	R	44	47
48. K.MURRAY	D	36	48
49. MORROW	R	62	35
50. BATES	D	39	54
51. HAUSER	D	32	60
52. BALDWIN	R	64	42
53. BUSTAMANTE	D	30	67
54. GALLEGOS	D	40	57
55. BOLAND	R	65	46
55. FIGUEROA	D	41	61
55. THOMPSON	R	60	59
58. CANNELLA	D	37	68
59. HOUSE	R	72	45
60. MCDONALD	D	50	65
61. HOGE	R	67	51
62. MORRISSEY	R	71	50
63. ESCUTIA	D	45	70
63. LEE	D	46	69
63. MACHADO	D	42	72
66. FRUSETTA	R	74	58
66. MARGETT	R	68	63
68. KNIGHT	R	76	53
69. TUCKER	D	53	71
70. ALBY	R	72	64
71. GRANLUND	R	69	73
72. CONROY	R	75	65
73. BOWLER	R	77	62
73. NAPOLITANO	D	60	75
75. CORTESE	RF	70	74
76. MARTINEZ	D	66	76
77. BACA	D	63	78
78. W.MURRAY	D	78	77
79. ALLEN	R	79	79

KEY: CJ: OVERALL RANK ON SURVEY;
LOB: HOW EACH LEGISLATOR RANKED AMONG LOBBYISTS ALONE;
STAFF: HOW EACH LEGISLATOR RANKED AMONG LEGISLATIVE STAFF ALONE;
P: PARTY (D=DEMOCRAT; RF=REFORM; R=REPUBLICAN)

SENATE

CJ SENATE	P	LOB	STAFF
1. CAMPBELL	R	2	1
2. KOPP	I	4	2
3. LOCKYER	D	3	3
4. JOHNSTON	D	1	7
5. O'CONNELL	D	5	6
6. MADDY	R	7	4
7. LEONARD	R	16	5
8. KILLEA	I	6	12
8. THOMPSON	D	10	8
10. LESLIE	R	14	10
11. PEACE	D	8	11
12. HURTT	R	23	9
13. PETRIS	D	11	16
14. COSTA	D	11	20
15. POLANCO	D	9	19
16. RUSSELL	R	20	14
17. HAYDEN	D	18	17
18. SOLIS	D	11	17
19. JOHNSON	R	26	13
20. CALDERON	D	16	22
21. BOATWRIGHT	D	22	15
22. BEVERLY	R	21	25
23. GREENE	D	15	27
24. KELLEY	R	25	24
25. CRAVEN	R	27	26
26. HAYNES	R	32	21
27. ALQUIST	D	24	29
28. LEWIS	R	33	23
29. DILLS	D	19	30
30. ROSENTHAL	D	29	28
31. WATSON	D	28	34
32. WRIGHT	R	36	33
32. JOHANNESSEN	R	37	31
34. MONTEITH	R	38	32
35. MOUNTJOY	R	33	36
36. AYALA	D	35	37
37. ROGERS	R	39	35
38. HUGHES	D	30	39
39. MELLO	D	31	38
40. MARKS	D	40	40

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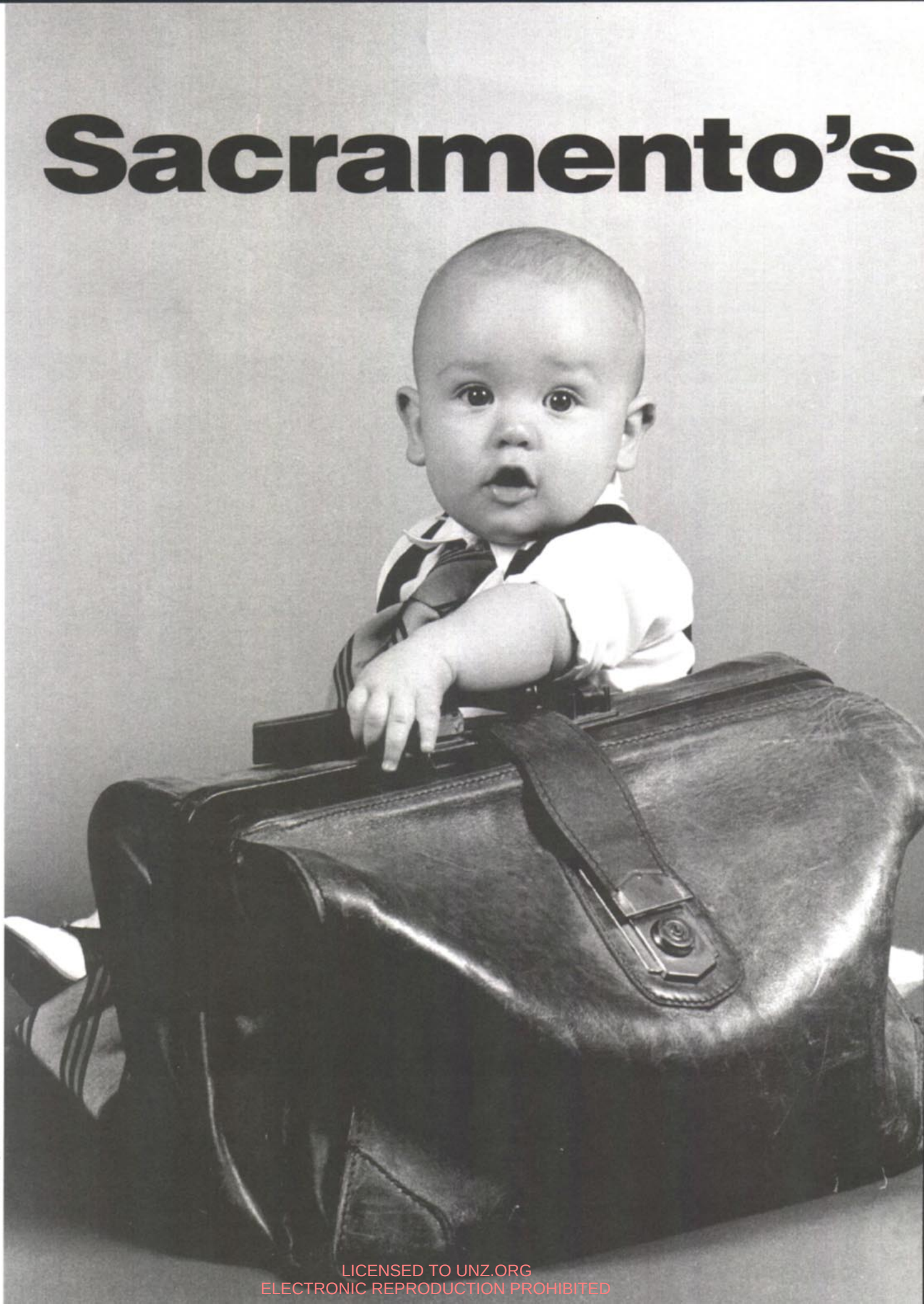

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youth movement

Thirty-something speakers call attention to changing nature of leadership in the era of term limits

by Steve Scott

he speaker of the California Assembly and the president pro tempore of the California Senate are probably the most important legislative leaders outside of Washington, D.C. Some California chauvinists might even argue they are more important than many leaders in the nation's capital. Although neither house has a strict seniority system, aspiring leaders have historically nurtured their ambitions patiently, sometimes waiting decades to make their moves. Longtime Speaker Willie Brown, Jr. (D-San Francisco) survived 16 years and one failure before he achieved the pinnacle. On the other hand, when a relatively new upstart senator named John Garamendi tried a maverick bid to become pro tem in the early 1980s, the only vote he got was his own.

Thus, it was no surprise to see Assembly Republicans turning to one of their more seasoned members this past month when they had the chance to elect their choice as Assembly speaker (see page 20). Although he'd been forced to sit out a term, the new speaker had been in Sacramento before all but one of his GOP colleagues. The name of this wizened veteran lawmaker: Curt Pringle of Garden Grove. His age: 35. His length of service: A grand total of just over five years. And the man he replaced as speaker? Thirty-two-year-old *freshman* Assemblyman Brian Setencich (R-Fresno).

There is much about Assembly leadership struggles of 1995 and 1996 that are unique to the circumstances created by a partisan changeover in a narrowly-divided house.

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There are some, however, who believe that 1995 represented the first year of the term-limit era, and that Assembly '95 is the shape of things to come. "This is it from now on, isn't it?" wondered one legislative veteran while watching the Assembly Republicans' most recent surge of growing pains. Others see the events of 1995 as a complete aberration, which does nothing more than provide an example of how not to do things. Which will it be? How will leaders be chosen in the future? What sort of person will pursue leadership? What will be the leader's new role?

> For the three years I've been here, it's been almost like we didn't have term limits.
>
> — Assemblywoman Debra Bowen (D-Marina Del Rey)

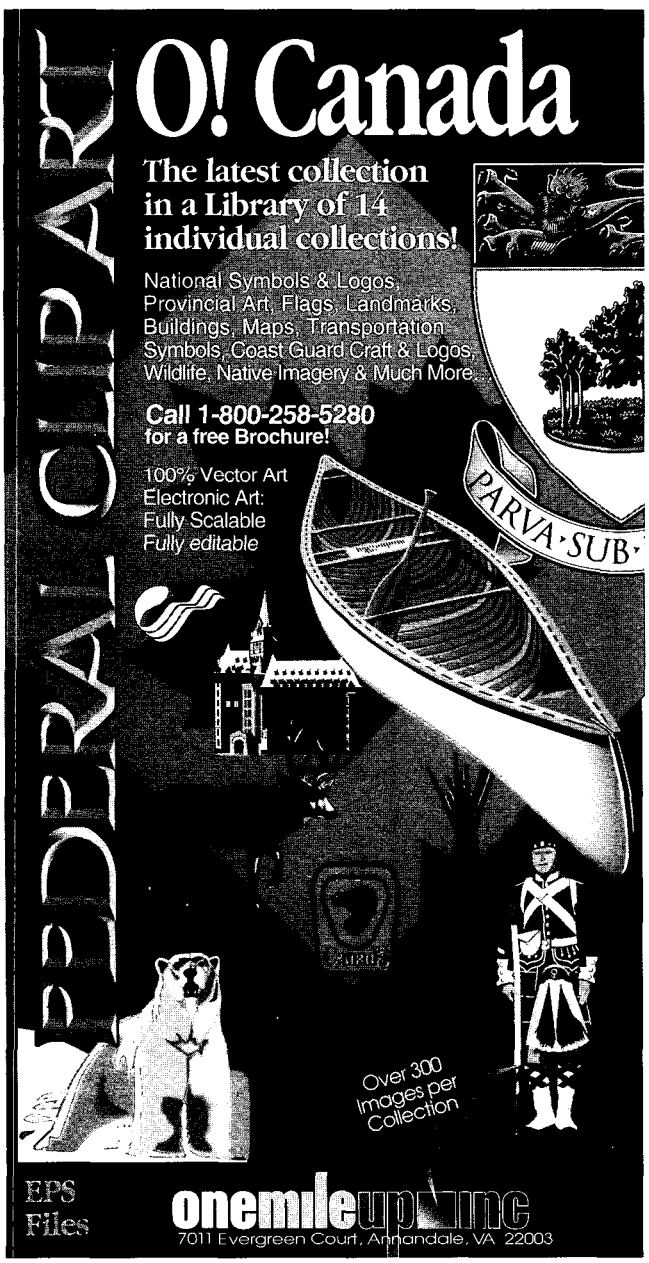
The contrast between 1995's disorderly leadership transition(s) in the Assembly and the orderly transfer of power that took place in the state Senate in 1994 neatly frames the choices that exist in the Legislature of the 21st century. Thanks to a quirk Proposition 140 and a sequence of peculiar events, the first legislator to be affected by its provisions was longtime Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti (D-Los Angeles), who was forced out in 1994. Recognizing this, prospective heirs-apparent began sniffing around for votes to replace him in 1993, and it quickly became clear that the man who had lined up the most votes was Senator Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward). As Roberti looked toward a campaign for treasurer and defending himself against a recall, Lockyer assumed more responsibility, particularly in the area of political fund-raising. Roberti stepped aside early in '94, giving Lockyer time to consolidate his position and be an effective advocate for his caucus in budget negotiations.

"The house wanted to make sure the transition was calm," said Tim Hodson, a former Senate staffer who now heads the Center for California Studies at Sacramento State University. "They did not want disruption, and Lockyer was able to put together the votes well ahead of time."

Even before the Republican landslide of 1994, the approach in the Assembly toward term limits differed markedly from that in the Senate. Although he named a record number of freshmen and sophomores as committee vice-chairs in 1993, then-Speaker Brown still kept his partisan operation largely intact, and many veterans clung to their experienced staff. Even if, as he maintained, Brown was conducting an orderly transition, that process was trashed November 8, 1994, when Republicans won a majority of seats. Suddenly, the rookies and their education were shoved aside in favor of a desperate bid to hang on to a share of power. Republican veterans, still bearing the scars of ancient struggles with Brown, influenced their caucus' early hard-line position against any power-sharing that would save face for their nemesis. The result: a year-long succession of recalls, defections, and power displays that left Democrats with a short bench when Brown was elected as San Francisco mayor late last year. "For the three years I've been here, it's been almost like we didn't have term limits," said Assemblywoman Debra Bowen (D-Marina Del Rey).

"When I became leader, I brought freshmen and sophomores into leadership right away," said former Assembly Republican Leader Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga). "For the Democrats, it was always just Willie."

So how will transitions develop without the encumbrances of old wars or the experiences of old war-horses? Hodson, who co-authored an academic study on term-limited leadership, suggests a model similar to that which has become the norm in Florida. Long before term-limits became a national *cause celebre*, Florida's House and Senate had developed an unwritten term-limit agreement for their top leaders. The speaker of the House and the president of the Senate are both elected two years prior to the session in which they will serve. These leaders-in-waiting do the fund-raising and conduct the political chores for the full two year session while the sitting leaders work on policy and house management. In the next session, the successor takes his or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who asked not to be named. "Curt Pringle is the structural leader because he's the caucus chair. Brulte is the political leader because he got us the majority."

Some see this kind of decentralization as one of the advantages of the new order. In their view, less powerful leaders means more powerful members, and fuller, freer policy debates. "Term limits may well allow us to go back to legislating again," said political consultant Tony Quinn, a former Republican legislative staffer. "It will allow new legislators to break the stranglehold of the old guard...which has prevented a lot of needed initiatives." Others, however, say too much centralization could make it impossible to do the kind of wheeling and dealing necessary to keep the wheels of government turning.

"The whole idea of having a speaker or a pro tem is to have somebody who can broker the deals, and to do

The Wait Is Over

The GOP finally seizes the Assembly, 14 months late

by Steve Scott

From 1980 until last year, every session of the California Assembly began with a familiar face at the podium and a familiar hand on the gavel. For a decade and a half, the Assembly pretty much belonged to Willie Lewis Brown, Jr., the San Francisco Democrat whose combination of guile and raw power kept him as Assembly speaker even after his party had lost its majority. This year, however, for the first time since Lyndon Johnson was president, Willie Brown was not a member of the Assembly, having resigned in December after his election as mayor of his hometown.

It didn't take long for the new order to assert itself.

More than a year after winning a majority of seats in the 80-member Assembly, Republicans finally have installed their choice as its speaker. Freshman Assembly Speaker Brian Setencich (R-Fresno)—installed two days before the end of the 1995 session—is out, replaced as speaker by Assembly Republican Leader Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove). Pringle took the helm one day after Republicans rammed through new rules shifting the speaker's power to a GOP-controlled Assembly Rules Committee. Pringle also was named chair of that newly empowered committee.

Pringle's rise ends, for the moment anyway, a year of turmoil in the lower house that began with Brown's craftily engineered re-election as speaker last January (See *CJ*, February 1995). Each time the GOP threatened to unseat a turncoat in a recall, Brown found another willing to let him keep his influence—first with former Assemblyman Paul Horcher (R-Diamond Bar), then with Speaker Doris Allen, and finally Setencich, the 32-year old freshman from Fresno (see *CJ*, July 1995, January 1996).

With Allen's November recall all but certain, Setencich spent the four-month legislative interim criss crossing the state in a bid to line up votes, while Republican poobahs launched an offensive against him, urging GOP lawmakers to sign a loyalty oath pledging support to the

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her place and a new leader-designate is chosen. Until it was broken a few years ago, tradition also dictated that the outgoing leader left the Legislature altogether, at least for a term or two. Although part of the system's success was based on the fact that Florida was essentially a one-party — i.e., Democratic — state, the transition structure appears to be surviving intact as the parties have become more competitive.

"The Florida model offers some predictability," said Hodson. "The converse is that every two years, you will have a fight to see who becomes speaker, with a good chance that 1995 will be replicated every two years. That is bad for the institution and bad for our form of government."

Whichever model emerges, one thing seems likely: experience, while important, will not be the overriding factor in determining leadership. Why not? Just look at the numbers. In 1990, the year Proposition 140 passed, the average Assembly member had spent more than nine years in office. If you add in their time in the Assembly, the average senator had spent almost 17 years in Sacramento. In the Legislature of the future, no session will begin with any member having spent more than 15 years in Sacramento.

Rather than simply electing leaders who have a lot of experience, many backers of term limits see leadership becoming more of a true meritocracy, with those who have leadership potential emerging nurtured early in their tenures. "We know who the best and the brightest are pretty early," said Assemblyman James Rogan (R-Glendale). "In a constant fight for political survival...you're not going to put the lesser lights in charge.". Rogan sees a sort of mentoring system developing, in which potential leaders are identified and brought along in their first terms, so they are ready when their time comes, much like the system that has evolved in Florida.

"New members came up here [the past few years] and were constantly reminded of old wars," Rogan said. "Once the 'Old Guard' is gone, I have much more faith in the process."

Of course, intelligence is only one aspect which leads one toward the path of leadership. Just ask "Speaker Phil Isenberg" or "President pro Tem Quentin Kopp," two lawmakers long on smarts who've never risen to the top. The successful leaders have combined intelligence with ambition and "people skills." They have also gone to people who can make good on the political aspect of the job — raising money, conducting campaigns, winning and keeping a partisan majority. In the short-term, these skills still figure to outweigh raw intelligence in determining who will lead. The rise of both Lockyer and Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt (R-Garden Grove) evidence the degree to which politics remains a priority in picking leadership.

Some see the relative political naivete of even the more seasoned term-limited leaders as an opportunity for institutions outside the Legislature to exert more influence in elections. In 1995, extra-legislative forces ranging from the California Independent Business PAC to Governor Pete Wilson all had a hand in the recall campaigns launched against Republican turncoats Paul Horcher and Doris Allen. These same folks then pressured Assembly members to vote for Pringle, rather than Setencich, for speaker. Uncharacteristically active in the legislative arena was the state Republican Party, whose chair and vice-chair even circulated a "loyalty oath," designed to smoke out members deemed to be potential Setencich sympathizers.

"Power abhors a vacuum," said veteran GOP consultant Ray McNally. "Somebody's going to fill that void, and it seems the party is a good candidate, because they're the ones that are going to be around."

No matter how skillful a politician any leader might be, however, few expect any leader to develop the degree of independence enjoyed by the Willie Browns of the world, who developed their broad portfolios only after several years of delivering the goods. Replacing this "cult of personality" will be lawmakers more attuned to the wishes of their caucus, or the coalition that elected them. This need to please again reinforces the expected decentralization of power from a single leader to more of a leadership team. Some see the possibility that two different power centers will emerge within leadership—those with the power of the office and those with the power of persuasion.

"There are two centers of power in the Republican Caucus — Curt Pringle and Jim Brulte," said one GOP insider

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the housekeeping chores no one else wants to do," said Hodson. "You can't have 40 people walking down to the governor's office to negotiate a budget." Ultimately, the shape of leadership in the post term-limit era largely will be determined by the people who hold those positions now. Hodson believes that, if Lockyer uses his transition to power as a model for his transition from power, a positive precedent could be set for future handoffs in the Senate. For the Assembly to do the same, however, it will have to find a way to get past the deep partisan mistrust that has evolved as a result of 1995's year of turmoil. "I hope for the best, but fear the worst," said political scientist Sherry Bebitch-Jeffe. But no matter how it turns out, the future holds one word of warning for anyone surprised to see a thirty-something sitting as speaker of the assembly.

Better get used to it.

caucus choice—i.e., Pringle. Despite the hardball tactics, Setencich appeared to gain the public support of fellow Central Valley Assemblyman Trice Harvey (R-Bakersfield). But the former basketball player didn't appreciate the full court press being mobilized against him. Harvey was bombarded with pressure from state and national GOP leaders and, in the end, he backed off, claiming Setencich had reneged on a pledge to put their agreement "in writing." Setencich says Harvey lied to him, "face to face, man to man."

If, as Setencich claims, there were other Republicans privately committed to him, the browbeating of Harvey appears to have put the fear of God into them. When the Assembly reconvened in January, the strategy was set. First came the new rules, a dramatic shift of power to the Rules Committee that, Democrats claim, even usurped some of the speaker's statutory authority. Rules members would be selected by the caucuses, but chairs and membership on all other committees would be decided by the GOP-led Rules Committee. The committee majority also would control all staffing, hiring, office, and bill assignment. Proclaiming the end of "the imperial speakership", Republicans then went after Setencich, installing Pringle as speaker the next day.

For the most part, the Republicans focused attention on sweeping out the vestiges of a Democratic infrastructure built up over a quarter-century of dominance. Veteran Democratic staffers, such as Chief Sergeant-At-Arms Charles Bell and Democratic Rules Committee administrator Geoff Long, were blown out and two weeks later, Democratic committee chairs received their walking papers as well. Powerless to stop the transition, Democrats accused the Republicans of replacing the "imperial speakership" with an "Imperial Rules Committee."

The clearest visible loser in the shake-up is Brown's successor as leader of the Democrats, Assemblyman Richard Katz (D-Sepulveda). Katz found that Brown had used up all the Republican defectors and watched his party's influence evaporate in his first session as minority leader. His best shot at a positive spin was the suggestion that Pringle was a clone of House Speaker Newt Gingrich and that the speakership's right-wing underpinnings eventually would lead to GOP defeat in November.

As he shoveled dirt over the casket of the Brown era, Pringle had reason to worry about his own longevity. The Orange County district attorney has launched an investigation into charges the Pringle-led organization orchestrated the campaign of a bogus Democratic candidate in the election to choose the recalled Allen's successor (See *CJ*, January 1996). Pringle has admitted the involvement of mid-level staffers in the set-up, but denies personal involvement. An even more formidable test of Pringle's leadership will come in the November elections. If this year's special elections don't change the landscape, Pringle needs a net gain of at least one Republican loyal to him to avert the prospect of a 40-40 tie in next year's vote for speaker. While the money should be there for the new speaker, the 1991 redistricting that foreshadowed the end of Democratic dominance of the Assembly also works against Republican dominance.

Another person with a lot riding on the next few months is Governor Pete Wilson. Coming off a failed presidential run, Wilson had a hand in Pringle's rise, and his conservative agenda presumably benefits from a stronger Republican base in the Assembly. But Wilson also needs a caucus pragmatic enough to compromise, so his agenda isn't dashed against the rocks in the Democrat-led Senate. If Pringle holds his caucus together as well on policy as he ultimately did on the leadership test, the GOP's hand will be strengthened. If, however, he is unable to tame the more extreme factions of his caucus, Speaker Pringle may find himself discovering what Speaker Gingrich is learning in Washington:

It's a whole lot easier governing from the peanut gallery than from the trenches.

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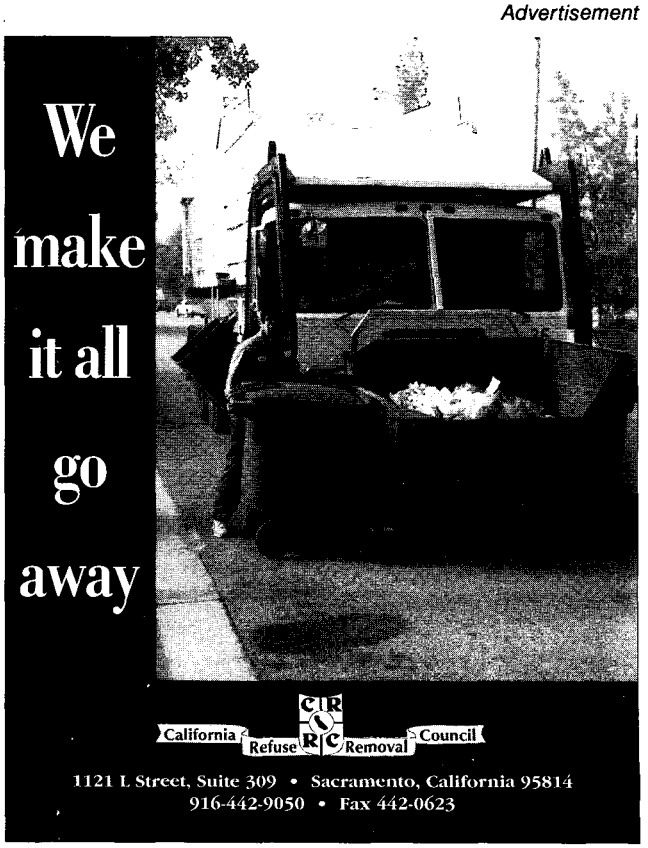
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The Bottom Line

government finance

By Susan Rasky

Tepid Pete

It's probably risky to read too much into any single speech by an elected official, particularly when that official happens to be Governor Pete Wilson, a politician whose strong suit has never been oratory. But even with that caveat, the governor's assessment of where California is and where it should be going — at least as he chose to express it in his 1996 State of the State address — was surely one of the more curious presentations ever to have launched a legislative session. It boiled down to something like this:

"The state economy is in good shape and getting better; I'm renewing my call for a tax cut; but all that is beside the point. Fourteen-year-old girls are having babies out of wedlock and renting apartments with their welfare checks when they are still too young to get driver's licenses. I'm mad as hell about it, and you should be too."

Never mind that California's teen pregnancy rate has actually declined modestly over the past three years. And never mind that Wilson came off as a hectoring drill sergeant rather than a purposeful political leader trying to say something thoughtful about social policy. Heaven knows what the cost of restoring the renter's tax credit must be with all those 14-year old mothers in the housing market.

What's curious about Wilson's speech is not that he should express concern about what citizens of all ideological bents would regard as a troubling societal problem, but that he should seize upon it as his agenda to the exclusion of so much else.

Here, after all, is a state emerging from five years of devastating recession and natural disasters with a budget that promises to be in surplus for the first time since the governor took office. Here is Wilson, bloodied but doggedly unbowed after an abortive presidential campaign, presumably eager to re-establish himself as a political and policy leader. For the first time in more than two decades his own party controls the Assembly and stands within striking distance of taking the Senate in the November elections. In Washington, where his party controls Congress, a debate that he helped precipitate rages over the division of responsibilities between state and federal government. Its consequences for California, where local governments are not sharing in the state's new prosperity and where fiscal as well as programmatic ties between Sacramento and the locals remain a tangled mess, could not be more profound. And amidst all this, the subject the governor chooses to make the centerpiece of his address, the distilled wisdom of this able policy team and his own years of experience on budgetary matters is ... fight teen pregnancy.

Whatever could Pete Wilson have been thinking?

The governor offered a partial clue several days after his State of the State address in a question-and-answer session with members of the Sacramento press club. Asked how he intended to deal with conservative Republican Assembly members who want him to fight to cut state funds for abortion, Wilson replied with more than a trace of irritation that these lawmakers seem not to have grasped the fundamental legal realities of the issue. The California Supreme Court, unlike the U.S. Supreme Court, he noted, has ruled that the constitutional right of abortion in this state carries with it the right of public funding for women who can't afford the procedure. To do battle over this when the overwhelming majority of Californians support legal abortion would be pointless, he seemed to be saying.

So, is the sudden hyperventilating over unwed teen mothers a sop to his party's restive right wing? Perhaps. But it would seem a risky course, since his proposals for dealing with teen pregnancy include funds for contraception services and sex-education programs, hardly the approach favored by the religious right.

A more intriguing explanation for the governor's interest in elevating a narrow sliver of social policy to crisis status may lie in the pages of the "1996 Almanac of American Politics," a widely respected compendium of political statistics and analysis on elected officials in all 50 states. It is here where the Almanac's author, veteran political columnist Michael Barone, fairly gushes with praise for two conservative midwestern Republican governors — Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin and John Engler of Michigan — who have fostered sweeping fiscal and social policy changes in their states and in so doing have become guiding lights in defining the national party's agenda.

It is these men and the perception of their success in making Wisconsin and Michigan important laboratories of reform in education, welfare, tax policy and even the environment, whom Pete Wilson will be measured against come the presidential campaign in the year 2000 if President Bill Clinton is re-elected this year. Wilson already has said that he'd like another run at the White House. It's a safe bet that Thompson and Engler, at least initially, would be considered in the top tier of GOP hopefuls as well.

So, Governor Wilson seeks a social agenda — a little hand-wringing on teen pregnancy, an intriguing but half-baked proposal for school vouchers, a few one-time cash infusions for experimental education programs and statutory rape prosecutions for 18 year-old males who impregnate 17-year old females. That hodge-podge isn't likely to earn him plaudits in Barone's influential political almanac, particularly if the governor continues to ignore the structural problems with California's tax and initiative system that tie his own hands even if he were inclined to try something more dramatic.

California's political analysts are forever pondering the contradictions in Wilson's personality. Is he Tough Pete or Tender Pete? Maybe Tepid Pete is the more appropriate description.

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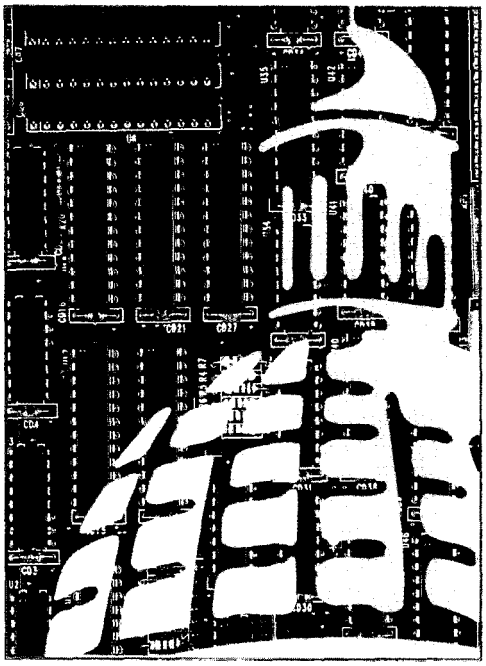

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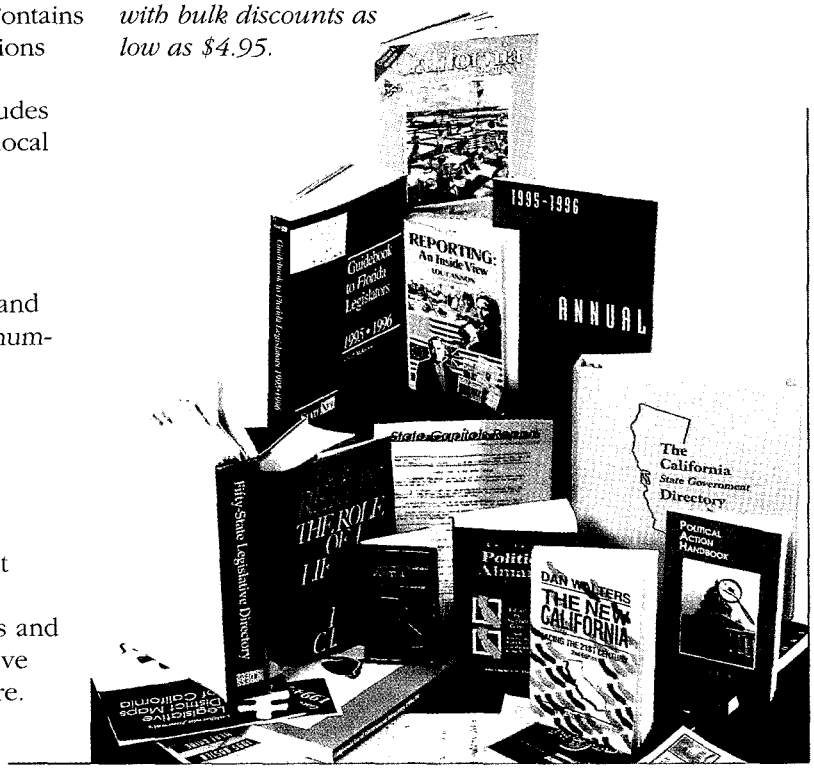

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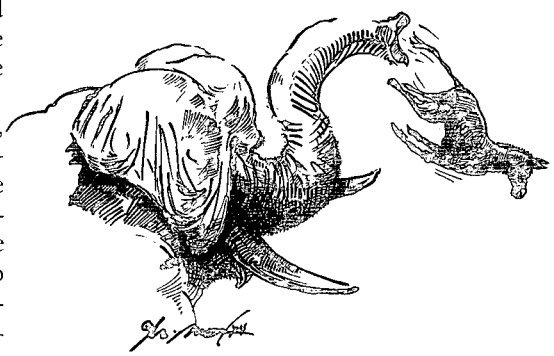
Two Cents commentary

by A.G. Block

A Republican triumph

The victory arrived not with a noisy fanfare but on little cat feet. After 13 months of struggle and frustration, Republicans last month seized control of the Assembly, thumping almost casually over the roadkill known as the Assembly Democratic Caucus (see story, page 16). However subdued the finale, it remains that Democrats waged a year-long tactical retreat unmatched since Stonewall Jackson left the Shenandoah Valley and, in so doing, all but crippled the Assembly as an effective legislative body. They injected the atmosphere with mistrust and anger by engaging in a series of dubious gambits in order to hold onto the shreds of power, and their antics destroyed whatever hope existed for substantive debate on the issues.



In their zeal to protect themselves, their staffs and their prerogatives, Democrats never acknowledged the one true result of the 1994 elections: The Republican Party gained a majority of the house and deserved the chance to govern it. Term limits and a court-drawn reapportionment may have created the playing field, but the paralysis was due to Democratic attempts to secure through parliamentary hocus-pocus what they had lost at the ballot box.

The Democrats' most infamous swindle took place in January 1995 when they engineered the ouster of then-Assemblyman Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia) after a quirk of timing saw him elected both to the Assembly and the Senate. There also is evidence that some Democrats encouraged former Assemblyman Paul Horcher (R-Diamond Bar) to deceive his constituents during the 1994 elections. One month after being re-elected as a Republican, the since-recalled Horcher voted for Democrat Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco) as speaker and declared himself an independent, thus precipitating a speakership fight that in one form or another lasted until January 1996. Then last May, Democrats joined with another disgruntled Republican, Doris Allen of Cypress, to elect her speaker after Brown stepped down. It was a shameful episode, for Allen was woefully inadequate for the job, a fact understood by any Democrat with an IQ larger than his or her hat size. Still, it left a large share of power in Democratic hands.

Through it all, the Assembly GOP caucus persevered, and its just rewards came on January 3, 1996, when it gained control over the Rules Committee, and on January 4th, when Assemblyman Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) was installed as speaker.

Yet in this moment of triumph, Republicans of conscience and integrity ought to be troubled. Politics is not a very elegant or genteel business, yet it does have a veneer of civility that disguises the often sordid dealings that lay beneath the surface. But lately, some Republicans have stripped away even the veneer, comporting themselves like thugs and goons rather than leaders prepared to guide the state through the challenges posed by an evolving and ever-more-complex society.

Republicans ought to be troubled, for instance, that their state party chairman and vice chairman demanded that every member of the GOP caucus sign a pledge, in effect, to support Pringle for speaker — a pledge that some members characterized as a "loyalty oath" and refused to sign. They should be troubled that a Pringle loyalist, Assemblyman Larry Bowler (R-Elk Grove), publicly threatened a member of his own caucus if that member supported Pringle's *Republican* opponent for speaker — Assemblyman Brian Setencich (R-Fresno).

Republicans ought to be troubled by the way the Allen recall was conducted. They should be troubled that an aide to their new speaker actively sought to dupe voters in Orange County by helping a bogus Democrat qualify as a candidate on the recall ballot, and that the aide remains on the speaker's staff. They should be troubled that Orange County Republican poobahs hand-picked a successor to Allen, then spent much of the campaign trying to bully other GOP candidates out of the race. They should be troubled that the Orange County district attorney is sufficiently concerned about the recall campaign to investigate several aspects of it. And they should be troubled that those same GOP poobahs have tried to pressure the district attorney into dropping his investigations.

In his acceptance speech as speaker, Pringle became emotional to the point of tears when he sought to thank his family for its support, evoking that most cherished of Republican issues — "family values." Yet family values begin with personal values, including honesty, integrity and fair play.

Republicans should indeed be pleased with their new-found power. But they also ought to note that some of the steps taken to achieve that power are every bit as shoddy as Democratic attempts to hold onto it and that the electoral achievements of 1994 have been diminished by the ethical shortcomings of 1995-96.

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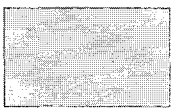
Third House

In the ever-changing world of the term-limited Legislature, lobbyists, too, must change. No longer able to rely on long-term relationships, they may be called upon to spoon-feed institutional memory to neophyte lawmakers.

By John Borland



It's a campaign reformer's nightmare: A reporter calls a legislator's office with a question about a bill and is told to wait. The voice that replaces the staff member and answers questions is friendly and helpful enough. But it turns out to be that of a lobbyist working the bill, who just happened to be in the office when the phone rang.

This gaffe was only one particularly clumsy demonstration of the widening gap between lobbyists' and lawmakers' experience. By next year, nearly 75 percent of Assembly members will have served two years or less. New lawmakers will have at most 16 years in a state legislative career before being ushered out by term limits, and many observers fear that this rapid-rotation system is draining vital legislative knowledge out of Capitol offices — potentially dangerous in an environment where a good spin on the facts approaches the value of spun gold.

Proponents of term limits and some legislators downplay this diminution of institutional memory, saying it is more important for a lawmaker to be a quick study than to have first hand memories of a 10-year-old legislative fight.

"What I've found in one year is that most everything is learnable," says first-term Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles), noting that most new members bring some of relevant experience with them. "It's not like we're coming straight out of high school."

But others argue that unexperienced legislators' lack of history will lead them to accept and rely on biased information spoon-fed by lobbyists and the executive branch. "The reality is that if I know the policy area and you don't, I'm going to be able to influence you ... even if I play

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Rising

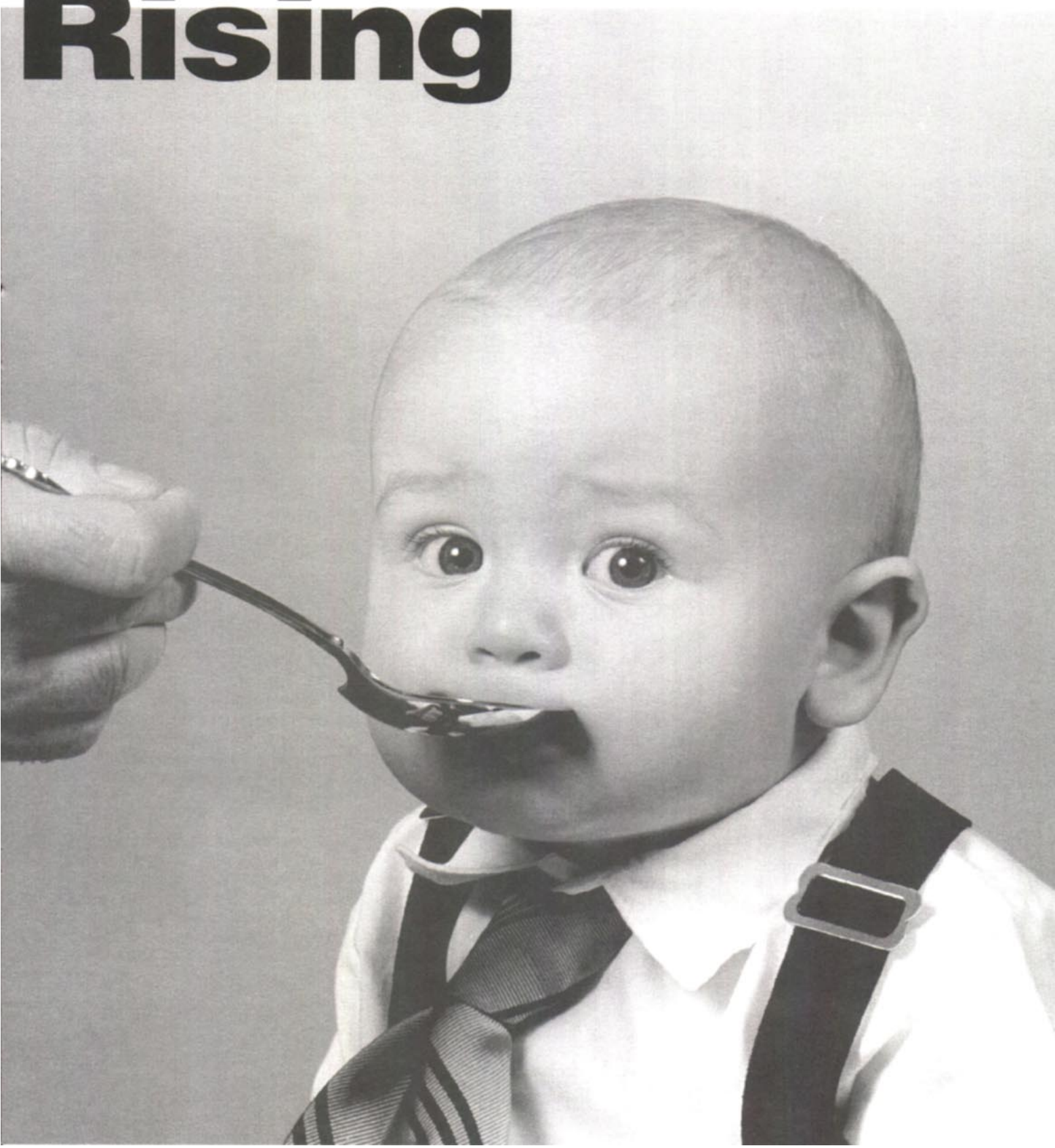

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

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Lobbyists say it is more essential than ever to know their issues and to be able to explain quickly and clearly why the member should feel a certain way, or care at all about the issue.

it completely straight," says Tim Hodson, director of the Center for California Studies at California State University-Sacramento and a former Senate staffer. "If the only information you're getting is from biased sources, how do you assess it?"

Lobbyists have no term limits, other than those imposed by a bad reputation or a poor sales pitch. But the now-perpetual legislative turnover nevertheless is forcing change in the third house. The friendships cultivated by long time advocates are disappearing with the legislative old guard. Lobbyists who founded lucrative careers on their access to powerful ears are being forced to rebuild their relationships with each new class of lawmakers.

"Those old relationships that were the mainstay of lobbyists are going to [disappear]," says Jack Gualco, head of the Gualco Group. "You've got to start new every two years."

The new working conditions are changing some of the third house's faces and tactics. "Some of the older lobbyists are saying, 'I don't know if I'm going to be comfortable in this new environment,'" Gualco says. "The big clean-out will be when the Senate really turns over."

While there has been no mass exodus from the profession, some older lobbyists may be thinking about speeding up their departure.

"I see a lot of veteran lobbyists who work on the basis of cultivated relationships having a hard time adjusting," says Barry Brokaw, a former Senate staffer who now lobbies for Sacramento Advocates. "You're seeing a lot of senior members of the third house retire in the last three to five years."

At the beginning of the career line, the ranks of lobbyists are growing, swelled increasingly by staffers disturbed by shifting legislative sands. "I've gotten calls from a lot of [staffers] looking for jobs," says one longtime contract lobbyist. "There's no stability over there."

Gene Erbin, now an employee with Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Mueller and Naylor, left his position as Democratic Assemblyman Phil Isenberg's (D-Sacramento) chief counsel earlier this year. "It was a combination of instability, restlessness and a good offer in my case," he said. "[The Capitol] is a different place than when I had worked there initially ... Are there other people who are growing frustrated and are anxious to change their position? Probably."

The number of lobbyists has been growing steadily since members of the corps first were required to register in 1974. But the rate of growth has jumped in the last decade, leaping from about 740 individuals in 1985 to nearly 1100 today. In 1975, by comparison, 616 lobbyists registered with the state.

Lobbyist spending, tracked quarterly by the Secretary of State's Office, also has risen sharply over the years. In 1975, companies and special interests spent $19 million to lobby state government. That figure rose to $74 million in 1985, and to $122 million in 1994, the last year for which totals are available. Even after adjusting for inflation, this is a 22 percent increase in the last decade, and a 150 increase in lobbyist spending over the last 20 years.

Faces and dollars aside, the rules in the advocacy game are essentially the same as always: Talk to the member and explain as best you can, as clearly as you can, why he or she should vote in the interests of your client. But the revolving slate of new members has made this task more complicated than in past years.

A lobbyist needs to win the trust of members and staffers in order to stand out as something more than a vaguely suspect face in a vaguely suspect crowd. This becomes more difficult because the size of the crowd is growing, even as opportunities to talk to the increasing number of new members become less frequent. "There is less personal contact," notes George Steffes, a one-time aide to Governor Ronald Reagan who has lobbied since 1972. "The old backslapping days are definitely going. ...There's more substance involved, but only because there is less personal contact involved."

Lobbyists say it is more essential than ever to know their issues and to be able to explain quickly and clearly why the member should feel a certain way, or care at all about the issue. "I don't have the time or [energy] for them to be too subtle," notes freshman Assemblyman Steve Kuykendall (R-Rancho Palos Verdes). "I need them to be specific, to put it into a big picture... Sometimes they become so ingrained in the process ... that they fail to do the fundamental sell on why we should do it at all."

"This does force us more and more into the sales ranks," Gualco says. The newer, more technically oriented generation of lobbyists "may be more marketing-savvy than people who have been around for a long time," he adds.

The relative scarcity of personal contact and relationships boosts the importance of other lobbying avenues.

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"Lobbyists will have to use a whole lot of other tools than the good-old-boy network," notes William Rutland, who works with Steffes' firm. These include talking to staff, preparing position papers for members and the media, forming coalitions with other interested parties, and eliciting vocal support for an issue from inside a member's district.

This latter "grass-roots" approach has generated a spate of publicity in recent years as public-relations firms have turned their attention — and the content of their pitches to clients — toward building constituent support. The idea is a persuasive one, especially to interests leery of becoming too identified with under-the-dome shenanigans: If constituents, who the legislator ultimately represents, can be persuaded to contact their representative, their voices will be more persuasive than that of lobbyists paid to represent a position.

Many long time lobbyists say this long has been a piece of their arsenal, depending on the receptivity of the individual legislator. "I've always felt that the way to have a successful lobbying project is to do a number of things," Steffes says. Legislators always listen to people in their districts, he says, and the trick for a good lobbyist is to develop ways to communicate with those constituents. "The organizations that have large memberships in every district" — such as doctors, optometrists or trial lawyers — "are going to be better off than those that just have one company or factory."

Nevertheless, most note that this kind of constituent communication is no substitute for a face-to-face chat with the member.

"It has to be done in conjunction with a visit to the member here," says Beverly Hansen, a former assemblywoman now employed by Lang/Mansfield Governmental Relations. "Most people who visit the member in the district for the grass-roots ... don't explain the legislative process."

Lobbyists view their emerging position as the in-house repository of memory with mixed feelings. Some admit there are advantages to being the only ones who know what is going on. "On the dark side, there are tricks that would be laughed out of the building now, that can be dusted off and used again five years from now," says John Quimby, a former assemblyman and veteran county lobbyist. "It will be like a comedian working a new crowd in a new town."

But many bemoan the necessity of starting lobbying campaigns practically from the beginning with each new class. "It's going to be an absolute disaster," says Bill Bagley, the former legislator and current University of California regent who lobbies for the firm of Nossaman, Guthner, Knox, and Elliot. He cites work on the Freedom of Information Act, which took half a decade or more to reach the point of passage. "What you do is hammer away, achieve consensus.... With a six-year limit, it will be impossible to have legislative initiative."

"There is a flood of things headed our way with [federal] devolution," notes John White, a representative of several environmental groups. "If you add up all the talent that's leaving, and look at the flood of responsibility coming to the state, I wonder if we're going to be able to handle it."

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Spring Schedule of Conferences, Activities and Events

Capitol Focus is a Sacramento based, non–partisan political awareness project for young people from a variety of backgrounds and aptitudes throughout California. For fifteen years we have provided programs that enable participants to develop confidence and communication skills while immersing themselves in the issues and institutions of their communities and our state. Our overall goal is to develop enthusiasm for the democratic process, along with the knowledge, confidence and skills necessary for effective participation. Participants are encouraged to take an active role in efforts to improve their schools and communities. Here is a list of upcoming conferences, activities and events:

Political Discovery

March 10-12, 1996. **SOLD OUT. THANKS!** A three day conference in Sacramento offered to all California eighth grade students. The program focuses on current statewide issues, the legislative process, skill building, and group discussion. Conference activities also include tours of local historical sites, social events, and a narrated cruise on the Sacramento river.

Capitol Focus Flagship Program

April 21-24, 1996: An intensive four-day program conducted two times each year since 1982. During sessions with legislators and their staff, executive branch officials, lobbying organizations, the media and representatives of our justice system, participants will examine, discuss and then cast their vote on a cross-section of issues *actually* being considered by lawmakers. Activities include participatory seminars, debates, investigative interviews, skill-building workshops, historical tours, and a river boat cruise. *This Springs and Next Fall's Flagship Programs will include a Special Election 1996 Component.*

California Roast

May 15, 1996 (Tentative Date.) A festive annual fundraising dinner attended by up to 500 of California's top elected officials, lobbyists, political consultants and others. Proceeds help cover Capitol Focus administrative and operating expenses so that programs may be offered at reduced rates. *Announcement by Mail Soon. Call Now to Reserve Best Tables.*

Election 1996 Training Conference

August 4-7, 1996. All California communities are invited to send a team of adult civic leaders, educators and youth to Sacramento to study the issues and candidates on the November 1996 ballot during in-depth sessions with candidates and their representatives, academics, journalists, political consultants and others. With Capitol Focus support, participants will prepare activities designed to stimulate and inform thousands in their schools and communities. *The 1994 version of this conference attracted local and national media coverage. Call now to receive information about sending or sponsoring a team this summer.*

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Alan Post

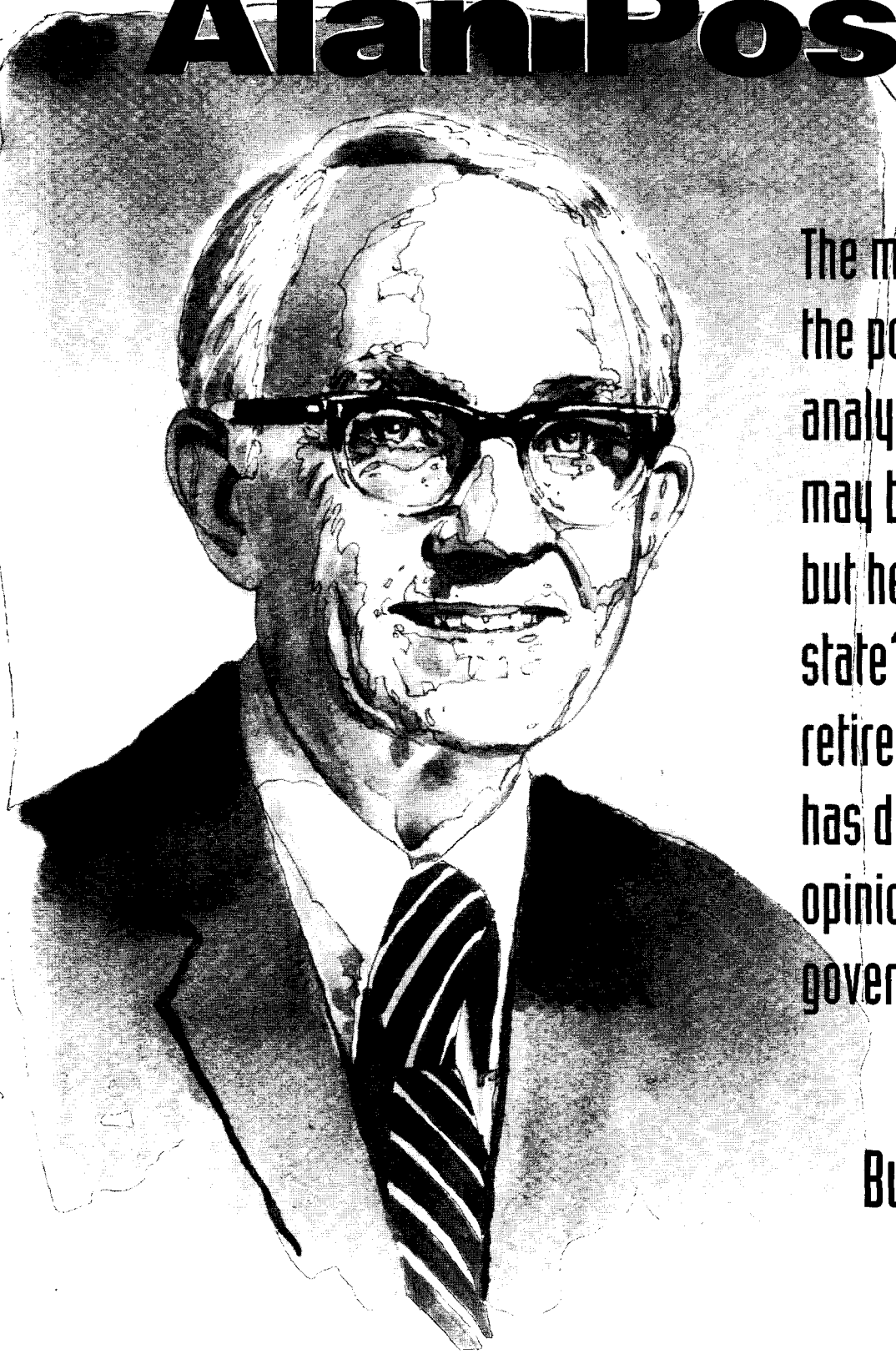

Illustration by Norm Hines

The man who refined the post of legislative analyst to an art form may be 81 years old, but he is one of the state's most active retirees — who still has definitive opinions about state government.

By Bob Schmidt

California, despite the awesomely diversified ethnic and cultural composition of its population, despite its vulnerability to a wide variety of natural calamities, despite its often wildly fluctuating economy, is a governable state, Alan Post says. But, says Post, who this year will mark a half-century of involvement with California government, the state is governable only if it has a strong governor and a disciplined Legislature. It hasn't had a strong governor,

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he says, since Pat Brown, and the establishment of the full-time Legislature in 1966 was a mistake that has helped produce today's crop of generally undistinguished lawmakers.

The former legislative analyst is retired now, which describes his current status about as accurately as saying that partisan politics play no role in California's legislative process.

Post retired as head of the California Legislative Analyst's Office in 1977 after 27 years on the job. Now, at 81, when most sensible people of comfortable means with homes in Sacramento, Carmel, and Spain would be content to be content, here is what Post has been doing since retirement:

He was chairman of the California Commission on Government Reform (1978-79); co-chairman of the California Citizens Budget Commission (1992-95); chairman of the California Citizens Commission on Ballot Initiatives (1992-93); and chairman of the Judicial Council Select Committee to Reform the Judges Retirement System (1992-93). He also served on the Independent Study Task Force, Regents External Degree Program, University of the State of New York (1983), and on eight other commissions, task forces and boards in California.

That was then. This is now:

He is a member of the Senate Advisory Commission on Cost Control in State Government (since 1986); the National Advisory Council, Institute of Government Studies, University of California at Berkeley (since 1989); the National Academy of Public Administration (since 1974); the Advisory Committee, Policy Analysis for California Education (since 1985); the Advisory Committee, California Tomorrow (since 1983); and the Catalonia Sister State Legislative Task Force (since 1988). And in 1995, apparently finding time on his hands, he agreed to serve on the Supreme Court Advisory Committee on Judicial Canons, the Board of Directors of the Public Policy Institute of California, and the Board of Directors of the Central Valley Foundation.

Why does he keep so busy?

"Well," he says, "the panels I served on in the past and the ones I'm active in now all involve subjects I'm interested in. I like to keep involved, and I'm pleased if people think I have something to offer. The taxpayers have paid to give me an absolutely marvelous education down through the years, and I feel obligated to give them something back."

Post graduated from Occidental College in Los Angeles in 1938 and received a doctorate in economics from Princeton University in 1940. He tried investment banking for two years before whetting what turned out to be an appetite and aptitude for public policy at the state level by spending a summer working for the Joint Legislative Audit Committee in Sacramento.

While waiting to enter the Navy, he taught at Occidental and American University in Washington, D.C., then spent two years in the service. After the Navy, he went to work for his old Occidental Economics Department chairman, John Parke Young, in the State Department in Washington, but jumped at the chance to return to Sacramento in 1946 when Legislative Analyst Rolland Vandegrift offered him a job.

He was particularly valuable to new members, and went out of his way to be helpful to them, again regardless of party.

In 1950, Vandegrift died and Post was appointed to replace him. For 27 years, his annual analysis of what was *really* in the governor's budget proposal was seized upon eagerly by legislators and reporters who usually didn't have a clue, beyond the big numbers up front, what was buried in the thousand-plus-page, multibillion-dollar spending plan.

A slender, silver-haired, soft-spoken man who favored conservative suits, Post built a remarkable reputation for credibility through the years by bringing nonpartisan objectivity — and accuracy — to his committee appearances. His analyses often angered both Democrat and Republican authors of bills but also earned their continuing respect and confidence. Which explains in part why every governor from Goodwin Knight to George Deukmejian approached Post about serving as his director of finance.

"Alan was absolutely nonpartisan and unbiased," recalls Bob Monagan, former Assembly speaker and Republican leader in the late 1960s and early '70s. "He was totally available to everybody, and I think he was under considerable pressure from the party in power — usually the Democrats — not to give so much help to members of the other party. But he saw his job as providing information and advice to all members of the Legislature, and he did that, even handedly. He was particularly valuable to new members, and went out of his way to be helpful to them, again regardless of party."

Assemblyman John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose) came to the Legislature in 1966 and served on the Ways and Means Committee before becoming its chairman in 1980. He describes Post as "a prince. He's smart, thoughtful, compassionate. He was objective and honest and his integrity simply couldn't be questioned."

Post's competence and integrity became known far beyond the state Capitol and even the borders of California. He was invited to serve on a number of national boards and commissions, and also served as a consultant to the shah of Iran and with U.S. missions to Portugal, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Bolivia.

It is state government, however, that he has always found most fascinating.

In addition to the need for a strong governor if California is to be governed properly, he says, it needs a Legislature that is "truly disciplined" and it hasn't had that lately, either. He said he opposed Proposition 1A in 1966 that created the full-time Legislature, and is even more certain today that the state would be better served by a Legislature that meets in formal session less frequently and conducts more in-depth interim hearings around the state.

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"The product was pretty good when that was the way the Legislature operated," Post says. "The members then simply knew the state and its people and issues better then the ones now do. Today, there seems to be an unwillingness to accommodate differing opinions, and, really, that's what people in an elected government are supposed to do."

He opposes term limits, he says, "but if you have to have them they should allow longer terms, say 12 to 16 years."

There is, of course, a great deal more to Alan Post than competence at dealing with the realities of budgets, bills and politicians' egos.

There is, for example, his painting.

Post describes himself as a "paintaholic" who retreats almost every day of his life into a studio affixed to his Sacramento home, there to spend hours working with oils, acrylics and watercolors to produce paintings that are earning him a satisfying eminence — and growing income — as an artist. One of his works graced the cover of the January 1996 *California Journal.*

"I've always liked to draw," he says. "At Occidental I was an economics major with a minor in art. I spent two years at the Chouinard Institute of Art in Los Angeles, and wherever I was I went to every night art class I could. Even at Princeton, where work on my doctorate was a real grind, I'd go to the countryside and paint just about every weekend, much to the disgust of my professors. I used to send the paintings home to my family in Pasadena, and they would give them to friends and relatives as wedding or birthday gifts. I sold my first painting when I was at Princeton, for $12, and I was just tickled pink."

Post met his wife, Helen, while he was at Princeton, and for the 55 years of their marriage they have shared a consuming interest in art. Helen Post is a sculptor of national renown. Her works adorn the lawns and lobbies of several buildings in Sacramento. Last December, the Solomon Dubnick Gallery in Sacramento held a three-week joint exhibition of her ceramic and bronze sculptures and his oil and acrylic paintings.

"We don't belong to any country clubs or anything like that," Post says, "so we were able to handle the considerable expense of doing what we each loved to do. Then our work started to sell, and for many years we just about broke even, and that was wonderful. For the past couple of years we've even started to make money, and that of course is very satisfying."

Like Alan, Helen works in her own studio, affixed to their Sacramento home.

About that home. It's a one-story, ranchhouse-style house in one of the several rural sections of Sacramento within the city limits. The Posts built it.

"I designed it in 1947," he recalls. "Helen and I leveled the ground and we had someone pour the foundation and do the framing. I did the wiring and some of the plumbing, and Helen and I put up all the Sheetrock. Helen hung all the doors, and I did the windows, mostly using metal parts I culled from the dump. I did the redwood cabinets, and we had some help with the floors.

"We'd start working on the house at four or five in the morning, then go to work, and we'd work on it again at night. Took us a couple of years, although we moved in before it was anywhere near finished."

In 1965 the Posts bought a small home on the east coast of Spain, about 50 miles north of Valencia, and go there every summer when they can to paint and sculpt and relax.

"I was born in Southern California [in Alhambra], and grew up when there were orange groves everywhere," Post says. "Our part of Spain, near the small town of Benicasin, has orange groves everywhere and reminds me of the California I lived in as a boy. I love painting there."

They recently bought a home in Carmel and go there with their son David, a Sacramento attorney, and his family as often as they can. And Alan Post paints there, too.

Economist, artist, carpenter, bureaucrat/politician, jock, Alan Post comes about as close to a true Renaissance Man as you can get.

"Jock?" you ask.

Well, sort of. Six years ago, when he was only 75, he broke a leg. Playing volleyball.

Bob Schmidt, a longtime Sacramento correspondent for the Long Beach Press-Telegram, *also is engaged in an active retirement.*

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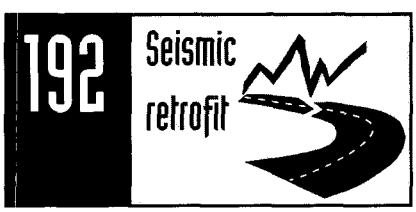
A California Journal Analysis

March 1996 Primary

BALLOT PROPOSITIONS

Proposition numbering

In 1983 the Legislature passed a law requiring that ballot measures be numbered consecutively from election to election, starting with November 1982. Previously, each election got its own set of proposition numbers starting with 1. But the system proved confusing. If you refer to "Proposition 13," do you mean the tax-cutting proposal of 1978 or the water-conservation proposal of 1982? Since 1982, 191 propositions have appeared on various ballots, thus the current crop begins with 192. It will continue this way for 20 years, so the next "Proposition 1" will not be seen until 2002.



Background: The state's Seismic Retrofit Program was established following the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake to identify and strengthen bridges that needed to be brought up to seismic safety standards. A review by the Department of Transportation (Caltrans) placed about 1039 state highway bridges in this category, called Phase 1. Retrofitting of Phase 1 bridges is generally complete; the work was funded by state gas taxes. After the 1994 Northridge earthquake, Caltrans identified another 1209 state-owned bridges that do not meet seismic safety standards. In addition to these "Phase 2" bridges, Caltrans also identified seven state-owned toll bridges in need of retrofitting. The cost to retrofit Phase 2 bridges and the toll bridges is estimated at $2 billion. State highway projects traditionally have been financed through the state's gas tax, which was increased by $.09 with approval of Proposition 111 in the 1990 June primary election, and maintenance of state-owned toll bridges has been covered by toll revenues. The legislation that placed Proposition 111 on the ballot was approved prior to the 1989 earthquake; following the earthquake, a law was enacted giving seismic retrofitting priority over other state highway projects.

Proposal: Proposition 192 authorizes the issuance of $2 billion in general obligation bonds to reconstruct, replace or retrofit state-owned highways and bridges, including toll bridges, that make up Phase 2 of the Seismic Retrofit Program. Of this amount, $650 million is earmarked for seismic retrofitting of toll bridges. The proposition specifies that expenditures for retrofitting these bridges, overpasses and interchanges be funded exclusively from the bonds; state gas taxes and toll revenues could not be used for this purpose. Diversion of the bond funds for other purposes would be prohibited. The state auditor general is directed to conduct an annual audit, available for public review, to ensure that funds are spent only on identified projects. Projects financed under this proposition would be exempt from the state's requirements regarding environmental impact statements and mitigation measures. Money from the General Fund would be used to pay off the bonds, including interest, which is estimated to be $1.4 billion over 25 years. If the proposition is not approved in the March 1996 primary election, it would be placed on the November 1996 general election ballot for another vote.

Arguments for: Proponents, including among others former Governor George Deukmejian and Chamber of Commerce President Kirk West, say that approval of this proposition will speed up the process of retrofitting state-owned bridges to meet seismic safety standards, which will save lives, reduce damage and improve the mobility of emergency vehicles and commercial traffic following an earthquake. Hundreds of earthquakes batter the state each year causing severe, hidden damage to the transportation system, particularly bridges and highway overpasses. Evidence that retrofitting works can be seen in Southern California, where every bridge strengthened with state-of-the-art technology survived the 1994 quake intact, according to the California Chamber of Commerce, the

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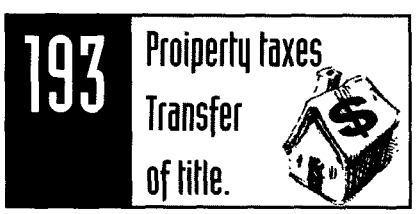
director of the state Office of Emergency Services and a retired California Highway Patrol commissioner. These supporters of Proposition 192 say that retrofitting costs one-tenth as much as rebuilding a bridge after it has collapsed. This bond measure will prevent diversion of funds from critically needed highway and passenger rail projects that otherwise are being shifted to earthquake safety repairs. Proposition 192 also will boost the economy by creating jobs.

Arguments against: Some taxpayer and environmental groups — such as People's Advocate, the Sierra Club and Planning and Conservation League, among others — say that Proposition 192 benefits the highway lobby and toll bridge authorities in the San Francisco Bay Area at the expense of taxpayers who already are paying for seismic retrofitting through the state's gas tax and tolls. Highway builders would benefit because the bonds would free up gas taxes to be spent on new freeway construction, and toll bridge authorities would not need to use their revenues to pay for needed repair work on Bay Area toll bridges. Opponents cite California's tradition of paying for highway and bridge repairs with current revenues and say that taxpayers should not be tricked into approving expensive long-term debt financing to subsidize new highway construction. Furthermore, opponents argue, the state's bonded indebtedness already is at a dangerous level and its bond rating could slip further if this measure passes.

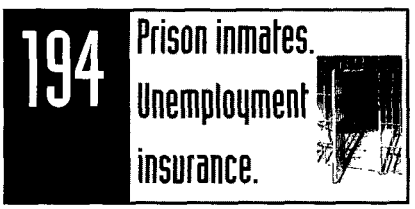


Background: Proposition 13, approved by voters in 1978, froze property tax rates at their 1975 levels and generally limited annual rate increases to 2 percent. A new appraisal, based on current market rates, is required when property is sold or transferred, which could result in a substantial increase in taxes on a property whose market value has risen faster than an average of 2 percent a year. There is an exemption to this reassessment requirement for parents who sell or transfer ownership of their principal residence and up to $1 million of other property to their children.

Proposal: This proposition generally would allow grandparents to transfer real property to their grandchildren without triggering a new appraisal of the property for tax purposes if the parents of the grandchildren are deceased. This exemption from the reappraisal requirement would not apply if the grandchild already has received a principal residence through a previous purchase or transfer that was exempt from reappraisal. The proposition places a $1 million limit on purchases or transfers qualifying for this exemption; this limit would apply to transfers or purchases between grandparents and grandchildren and between parents and children. According to the state's legislative analyst, this change in the property tax law would result in about a $1 million annual loss in property tax revenue to schools, counties, cities and special districts, with the loss to schools made up by the state's general fund. The changes proposed by this measure would apply to sales or transfers occurring after March 26, 1996.

Arguments for: Proponents, including Assemblymen David Knowles and Bill Hoge and Senator K. Maurice Johannessen, state that Proposition 193 would fix a small but important problem with the current property tax law that penalizes individuals who have lost both of their parents. Allowing grandparents to provide for and safeguard the future welfare of grandchildren in these circumstances by transferring real property without triggering an automatic reassessment is just as proper as allowing parents to do this, which current law permits.

Arguments against: Proposition 193 would only increase the unfairness of the current property tax system by creating a special exemption for a privileged few, according to Gary B. Wesley, a private attorney who often opposes ballot measures. He argues that voters should be presented with a comprehensive constitutional amendment to the system that would make it fairer for everyone. He recommends periodically reassessing all business and residential property, regardless of whether it changes hands, and lowering the tax rate.



Background: The California Department of Corrections was given authority to contract with private businesses to hire prison labor under Proposition 139, approved by voters in November 1990. Prior to creation of this Joint Venture Program (JVP), such hiring was prohibited, and goods and services produced by inmates could be sold only to state or local governments. Organized labor historically has opposed the use of prison labor because of the potential for depressing wages and job opportunities for the rest of the work force. Up to 80 percent of inmate earnings under the JVP are subject to federal, state and local income tax withholding, restitution payments to crime victims, support payments to the inmate's family, and reimbursement to the state for incarceration costs. At least 20 percent is set aside for the inmate to receive upon his or her release from prison. Employers generally are required to pay all taxes they would otherwise pay for non-JVP employees, including unemployment insurance. Inmates employed by JVP employers are eligible under current law to receive unemployment benefits when they are released from prison, under the same law that applies to all employees in the state who lose a job through no fault of their own. Employer contributions fund the state's unemployment insurance program, with businesses whose former employees receive benefits more frequently paying higher rates than businesses whose former employees generate fewer payouts from the system. About 700 inmates have been employed under the Joint Ven-

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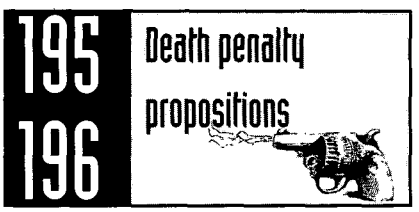
ture Program since its inception.

Proposal: Proposition 194 eliminates the requirement that inmates who are employed by private businesses under the Joint Venture Program receive unemployment insurance benefits after their release from prison. In addition, employers would no longer be required to pay unemployment insurance taxes for prisoners they hire under this program.

Arguments for: Proponents — including Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt, former Assemblyman Tom McClintock and the California Correctional Peace Officers Association — say that payment of unemployment insurance benefits is a disincentive for businesses to hire prisoners under the Joint Venture Program. A JVP employer, who has no control over an inmate's release from prison, pays higher unemployment insurance premiums as a result of former inmate-employees receiving unemployment benefits. Eliminating this disincentive will increase the number of businesses participating in the JVP, creating more job training and earning opportunities for prisoners. Increasing the number of these jobs also will generate more revenues for victim restitution and reimbursement to the state for incarceration costs since these are two of the areas for which inmate earnings must be earmarked. Supporters of the proposition also argue that unemployment insurance was never intended for prisoners who were not laid off, but simply paroled out of their jobs.

Arguments against: Opponents — specifically, the Friends Committee on Legislation —argue that the Legislature in 1977 approved payment of unemployment benefits to released prisoners based on the notion that the inmate's lack of skills, high unemployment rates and discrimination make it difficult to find work immediately upon release. Without the minimal financial assistance provided by unemployment benefits, an ex-offender is more likely to return to crime. Opponents state that JVP employers make little or no effort to retain inmates as employees after their release from prison, often because the business is not located in the county to which JVP employees are paroled. A concern also has been raised that denying unemployment benefits to former inmates may conflict with the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. If the federal government determines that this proposition puts the state out of comformity with the federal law, all businesses in the state that currently claim a federal tax credit on their unemployment insurance premiums would lose that credit, which could amount to a $1.7 billion loss for California employers.



Background: In the run-up to his 1994 re-election campaign, Governor Pete Wilson unveiled a tough-on-crime legislative package, which included making drive-by shooting and carjacking murders eligible for the death penalty. The year was a good one for crime bills, most of which passed easily in the wake of the hugely popular three-strikes law. But the several death-penalty bills died in the Assembly Public Safety Committee. The atmosphere changed halfway through 1995, when Assembly Republicans finally were able to turn their election victories into majorities on policy committees. A more conservative committee passed the death-penalty measures out with little trouble. The Legislature as a whole sent the bills to the governor with a substantial majority vote, but both must be ratified by a vote of the people before becoming law. Under state law, murder is ordinarily punished by a 25-years-to-life sentence, with the possibility of parole. To be eligible for the death penalty, the killing must have taken place in conjunction with one of a list of special circumstances such as robbery, rape or arson.

195: Carjacking

Proposal: Proposition 195 adds carjacking kidnapping in the course of a carjacking and the retaliatory murder of a juror to the list of special circumstances that make a defendant eligible for the death penalty or life imprisonment without parole. The measure is in part redundant, since prosecutors currently may charge carjackers and kidnap-carjackers with the existing special circumstances of robbery or kidnapping. The state legislative analyst estimates only minor additional state costs, due to this overlap and the infrequency of juror murders.

Arguments for: A long list of law-enforcement groups, crime victims' organizations, Governor Wilson and tough-on-crime legislators point to the death penalty as a needed deterrent to these crimes. They note that every other "felony murder" category — in which someone kills a bystander while committing another crime — is included on the state's list of special circumstances, and this measure would bring the two categories into conformity. The murder of a juror belongs in the same category as the murders of witnesses, prosecutors or judges, which already qualify for capital punishment, they say.

Arguments against: Opponents, including the Northern California Episcopal Diocese, several other church groups and liberal advocacy organizations, say the death penalty is an ineffective deterrent to murder and other violent crimes. The resources that go into prosecuting and litigating such cases are high, they note, and would be more efficiently spent addressing crime prevention rather than further ratcheting up penalties. They point out that the provisions of this measure are largely cosmetic, since prosecutors can already seek the death penalty for carjackers and kidnap-carjack killers under existing law.

196: Drive-by shootings

Proposal: Proposition 196 adds murder in the course of a drive-by shooting to the list of special circumstances qualifying a defendant for the death penalty or life in prison without possibility of parole. The state legislative analyst estimates that costs to the state, depending on the number of

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new life-without-parole sentences, could run into several million dollars annually over time.

Arguments for: Proponents, including Governor Wilson, the California District Attorneys' Association, crime victims and a wide range of law enforcement groups, say that drive-by shootings have snowballed to epidemic proportions in the state, spreading outside urban settings and increasingly harming uninvolved bystanders. They cite a 1991 study that found an average of more than one youth under 18 to have been a victim of drive-by shooting every week in Los Angeles in 1991. Making this crime eligible for the death penalty will serve as a needed deterrent, they say.

Arguments against: Opponents include a handful of law enforcement officials, the American Friends Service Committee of Northern California, church organizations and liberal advocacy groups. They note that the death penalty has not significantly reduced violence in other areas where it has been tried. This specific proposal makes an irrational distinction based on the location of the murderer, they say, so that the same drive-by killer would not necessarily have been eligible for the death penalty if he were standing outside a car while committing the crime. This artificial distinction may raise constitutional challenges.

197 Mountain lions

Background: In 1990 the passage of Proposition 117 codified an unofficial 17-year state policy, placing an official ban on the sport hunting of mountain lions. Lions had spent the first half of the century with a bounty on their heads, but after a short period of restricted hunting in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a moratorium was placed on lion hunting while the state Department of Fish and Game studied the population. This lasted until the late 1980s, when the department twice recommended small hunting quotas; these were challenged in court and struck down. Part of a wider package of environmental measures and funding, the 1990 initiative gave the lions a unique "specially protected" designation and made lion hunting illegal. The gun and sports hunting lobbies were the most vocal opponents to the ban. After lions killed two women in 1994 — the first such incidents since 1909, according to Fish and Game — hunters joined conservative legislators to draft a bill asking the public to reverse the 1990 vote and give the power to manage the lion population back to Fish and Game. An increasing number of well-publicized lion attacks in the past few years, coupled with the new Republican majority in the Assembly, gave the bill the impetus it needed to pass last year. Fish and Game says it has to kill at least one lion a year for public-safety reasons. Far more common are instances of depredation — where a lion kills livestock or pets — in which the department is allowed to issue a permit to a landowner to kill the animal. The number of depredation permits applied for has gone up steadily while the hunting ban has been in place.

Proposal: Proposition 197 would allow the Legislature to change or repeal by majority vote the protections given to mountain lions by Proposition 117. It would remove the lions' "specially protected" designation, allowing the Fish and Game to manage the population as it does any other species not officially rare, endangered or threatened — potentially opening the door to sport hunting. Fish and Game must further develop a management plan identifying areas where the lion population has reached levels that endanger public safety.In its first three years of operation, the measure would reallocate up to $250,000 yearly from the department's land-acquisition funds to the lion management plan. The Legislature may appropriate another $250,000 annually from other sources for public safety and education programs related to mountain lions.

Arguments for: Proponents including the gun and sports hunting lobby and the California State Sheriffs' Association assert that the mountain lion population has outgrown its habitat in recent years, prompting a series of attacks on livestock and even humans. They point to the separate 1994 deaths of two women walking in parks near populated areas, and the far greater numbers of attacks on pets and livestock as evidence that the lions need to be controlled. The "specially protected" designation has no basis in biological science, they note, and they ask the people to turn management of the lion population back to the biologists at Fish and Game.

Arguments against: Opponents including the Sierra Club, the Humane Society and other environmental groups point to the initiative as a veiled attempt by gun groups to overturn the ban on hunting lions. Fish and Game already has the power to relocate or kill lions that endanger public safety, opponents note, adding that they would support a measure to increase the department's power to protect the public without opening the door to sport hunting.

198 Elections: Open Primary

Background: California's current primary system dates back to the early part of the 20th century when Progressive reformers devised and promoted it to give ordinary citizens and rank-and-file members of political parties a say in the candidates put up for election by their parties. Until that time, those slates of candidates were determined by party bosses and activists at state conventions. At first, the primary featured what was known as a "cross-filing" feature, which allowed candidates to file for a particular office in their own party's primary and in another party's primary as well. Because of the way cross-filing worked, however, a candidate's true party affiliation was not listed on the ballot; thus, voters often did not realize they were nominating a candidate from another party. This was especially helpful for

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incumbents who often were the most recognizable name on a ballot. Eventually, 70 percent to 80 percent of legislative primaries resulted in one candidate winning both party nominations, with Republicans earning the lion's share of nominations. But since 1959, when cross-filing was abolished via an initiative, California has had a closed primary, where only candidates affiliated with a party may be listed on that party's ballot and only voters registered to that party may vote. That has led, say some activists, to a system that produces extremists on both ends of the political spectrum. These activists want to open up the primary process to allow any voter — even independents not affiliated with any political party — the opportunity to cast a ballot in primary elections. Currently, 11 states operate under some form of "open primary." Eight of those states allow voters to choose a political party on Election Day; in California, that choice must be made 29 days before the primary. Three other states have what is known as a "blanket primary" where voters may vote for the candidate of their choice regardless of the candidate's party. In the past, the open primary has been proposed both as an initiative and in the Legislature, but these proposals either died in legislative committee or failed to gain the required number of signatures to be placed on the ballot.

Proposal: Proposition 198 allows all persons who are entitled to vote in primary elections, including those not already affiliated with a specific political party, to vote for any candidate regardless of that candidate's party affiliation. Thus, voters in primary elections would be allowed to vote for candidates across party lines. The measure also provides that county election officials prepare only one ballot for all voters, and candidates for partisan office would be listed randomly on the ballot and not grouped by party. The candidate from each party who receives the most votes for state elective office would become the nominee of that party at the next general election. The only candidates not affected by these procedures are those running for political party offices, such as county central committees. Those elections would continue to be restricted to voters registered to a particular party. The Legislative Analyst's Office has indicated that Proposition 198 would have no fiscal impact on the state and might save some money for counties that would be able to print and prepare fewer ballots.

Arguments for: Proposition 198 is supported by former state Senator Rebecca Morgan (R-Saratoga), former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford, Senator Lucy Killea (I-San Diego) and former GOP state Controller Houston Flournoy.

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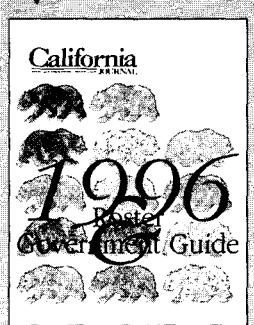

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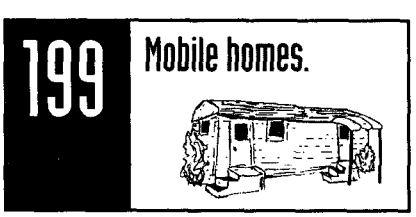
They argue that the current closed primary system produces candidates at the ideological extreme who spend more time fighting with each other than addressing the state's most pressing problems. They say an open primary will increase voter participation and force candidates to focus on issues rather than on partisanship. Proposition 198 will allow independent voters, now excluded from primaries, a chance to participate, and also give minority party voters in non-competitive districts a real say in selecting their representatives. They also argue that victorious candidates will have broader bases of support. Finally, they say that political parties in states with open primaries have become stronger and healthier.

Arguments against: Officials of both major political parties oppose Proposition 198, as does former GOP U.S. Senate candidate Bruce Herschensohn and former Democratic Attorney General John Van de Kamp. They argue that primaries have one purpose: for registered voters in each political party to select nominees for the general election. Clubs and private organizations do not allow nonmembers to vote in their internal elections, and neither should political parties. The open-primary measure, they warn, is an invitation for political mischief and would allow politicians, special interests and political consultants to manipulate the system through the use of sophisticated targeting methods. There is a difference between the parties, opponents note, but Proposition 198 muddies the waters. And rather than increasing voter choice, the measure actually limits it by diminishing the importance of joining a political party free from outside interference.



Background: About 500,000 Californians live in mobile homes. which typically are owned by the occupant who must then rent space from a mobile-home park. About 100 cities and counties around the state have some form of rent control for these parks, generally limiting rent increases to the level of inflation or less. These controls apply to about 150,000 mobile homes statewide. Owners of mobile-home parks have tried periodically over the years to repeal the rent-control laws, arguing that the value of the low rents is capitalized into higher mobile-home prices, making it more difficult for low-income buyers to purchase the homes. By phasing out rent controls, the purchase price of homes in these areas might become cheaper, as the equity value of the homes is transferred to park owners in the form of higher rents.

Proposal: Proposition 199 would gradually phase out all existing rent controls on mobile-home parks. The controls would stay in effect for each individual unit until the current occupant sells, sublets or otherwise leaves the residence. The park owner then would be able to raise the rent freely.The measure also would allow park owners to raise rents at least as fast as the rate of inflation. Finally, the initiative would require park owners to provide 10 percent rent discounts for 10 percent of the spots in their parks to people with "very low" income, a level that varies by county. The state legislative analyst estimates that the measure could save local governments several million dollars annually in the long run, as the cost of administering rent control laws eventually disappears.

Arguments for: Proponents — including the state Chamber of Commerce, the Republican Party and the Mobilehome Park Owners Alliance — argue that rent controls have led to an increase in the cost of the homes and a decrease in the amount of park space available. Because of disincentives to creating new park space, the state has faced a shortage in just the kind of housing most needed by seniors and young families, they say. By removing the rent controls, the purchase prices for the homes will fall and more space will open up — and the 10 percent rent discounts will help the poorest sector of the population afford housing. Rent-control laws cost local taxpayers millions of dollars to administer, proponents add, which would be avoided with passage of the initiative.

Arguments against: Opponents — including the American Association of Retired Persons, the Golden State Mobilhome Owners League and

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the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO — say the initiative is nothing more than a thinly veiled attempt by park owners to raise rents. The 10 percent rental assistance provision is not enough to outweigh the effects of expected rent increases, they say. Rent increases would price senior citizens and others on fixed incomes out of the market, not make it easier for them to buy the homes.

Background: Few issues in the realm of state government have had a longer shelf life, and generated more special-interest attention, than the effort to change the state's civil liability system. Tort reform has been a priority for businesses and local governments since the early 1980s, as the number and scope of lawsuits began a precipitous climb. Many of these suits were brought with the help of attorneys who worked on a contingent-fee basis: If the plaintiff loses, they pay nothing; if they win or settle, the lawyer gets a percentage of the settlement, sometimes as much as a third of the total. Concurrent with the rise in civil suits against businesses and government was a marked increase in auto-insurance rates in the state. Insurance companies claimed these increases were the result of an explosion in the number of auto-accident cases that were winding up in court.

Business and government got some relief in 1986 with voter approval of Proposition 51, which limited plaintiffs' ability to extract huge awards from the "deepest pocket" in a civil case. Less than two years later, the Legislature ratified an agreement that stabilized the escalation in medical malpractice lawsuits. While individual special interests crafted their side-deals in secret, however, the fight over automobile cases was being waged in a noisy and expensive initiative war. In 1988 insurance companies and the state's trial lawyers spent tens of millions of dollars bashing each other and pushing their own wish-list insurance initiatives, among them an industry-backed no-fault proposal. When the dust settled, the one initiative left standing was the one both sides agreed they didn't want—Proposition 103, which proposed strict regulation of the insurance industry and sought to slash auto rates by 20 percent.

Sacramento tort wars then went on hiatus for a few years. The business community, however, was still far from satisfied, and liability costs consistently ranked near the top of the California Business Roundtable's annual survey of concerns. The focus of its anger remained contingent-fee lawyers, whom it believed were targeting it with meritless cases for the sole purpose of extorting a settlement. Meanwhile, another high-profile tort-reform advocate — the insurance industry — was making effective use of the tort system to block implementation of Proposition 103. Even though car insurance rates had stabilized, the long-promised rate rollbacks were slow to materialize.

When an unconventional attempt to implement a pay-at-the-pump insurance system died a quiet death in the Legislature, some consumer groups began to take a second look at the concept of no-fault car insurance. Rather than drivers in an accident suing and counter-suing each other in an effort to prove the other's liability, those involved in traffic accidents would simply submit their damage and medical claims to their own insurers. Consumer groups had united in opposition to the insurance companies' 1988 no-fault plan, but some concluded that a properly constructed system could work. Others, like renowned activist Ralph Nader, were adamant in their opposition to any no-fault plan.

The split over no-fault led Proposition 103 spearhead Harvey Rosenfield to part ways with the Voter Revolt consumer group he helped found, and the chain reaction from this fissure has resulted in the three tort-reform initiatives on the March ballot. With no-fault advocates at the helm, Voter Revolt began looking for no-fault supporters, and found one in Andrew Tobias, best known as the author of the popular personal finance software, *Managing Your Money*. Tobias, who conceived the ill-fated pay-at-the-pump concept, enlisted the help of one of his erstwhile rivals — Intuit chairman Tom Proulx, co-creator of the even more popular *Quicken* software. As they shopped the insurance concept, the pair found some interest from their Silicon Valley colleagues, but what the executives *really* wanted to talk about was the tort system, in particular, the lawsuits being filed against them by shareholders. These so-called "strike suits" generally appeared when company profits dipped precipitously. So, in the interest of getting funding for their initiative, the no-fault advocates decided to pool their efforts with tort-reform backers. Result: The alliance to Revitalize California. Funded largely by loans and contributions from computer giants such as Intel and Seagate, the Alliance drafted, circulated and qualified the three initiatives described below. The feat was accomplished primarily by vilifying the state's trial lawyers and their trade association, the Consumer Attorneys of California. With lawyer-bashing a sport that crosses party lines, the well-funded alliance collected a record number of signatures, while the CAOC failed to qualify a counter-initiative for the March ballot. The alliance then hired a pricey group of political consultants, whose strategy was simple: present all three initiatives as a comprehensive package and peg them to public antipathy toward lawyers.

While the alliance advertises itself as a business-consumer coalition, its supporters weigh heavily toward businesses. Backers include Governor Pete Wilson, an array of business organizations and a large chunk of Republican legislators. In addition to the trial bar, most of the state's better-known consumer advocates oppose the alliance initiatives, including Ralph Nader, Rosenfield and Consumer's Union. As of this writing, the insurance industry had remained neutral on the measures, but the alliance is actively seeking its support and concede it is count-

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ing on the industry for significant financial support. Opponents say these overtures to insurers suggest the supporters are less interested in protecting consumers than they are in protecting corporate profits.

200: No Fault Motor Vehicle Insurance.

Proposal: Proposition 200 is very close to what insurers call "pure no-fault" in the area of personal injury. A driver's insurer would be required to pay the medical, rehabilitation, and replacement costs, as well as lost wages, if that driver is in an accident — regardless of who is at fault. The company also would have to pay the policy's death benefit to its customer without regard to who is at fault. Insurers would be required to offer personal injury protection (PIP) of from $50,000 to $5 million — anyone with a policy under $1 million would have to sign a waiver indicating they are aware that their coverage will be limited. In conjunction with the no-fault plan, the initiative also reinstitutes a provision requiring that all motorists carry auto insurance. The initiative does not change the method of covering vehicles for property damage. Motorists would be forbidden from suing another driver, either for direct medical costs or for punitive, pain-and-suffering damages. Insurers would be required to offer additional policies of up to $250,000 for those motorists who wish to carry coverage for pain-and-suffering, but these payments also would be distributed by the motorist's own company. In only two instances would lawsuits be allowed: motorists injured by a drunken driver, or by a driver committing a felony. The existing tort system would also still apply to property damage, but only motorists who carry additional collision insurance would be eligible to sue for property damage. The net fiscal impact of the initiative is uncertain, according to the state legislative analyst. If uninsured motorists sign up for the plan, the savings to state and local government could top $100 million. If, on the other hand, uninsured motorists remain uninsured and stop registering their vehicles, these same governments could lose as much as $100 million. The state could save money in reduced insurance and motor vehicle costs, but it could lose tax revenue if premiums go down. About the only thing known for sure is that the measure will cost about $10 million a year to implement.

Arguments For: The listed proponents — Michael Johnson, Bill Zimmerman, and Bill Westermeyer of Voter Revolt — are joined in support by Proulx, Tobias, Voter Revolt, Governor Wilson, the Association for California Tort Reform and a sizable contin-

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gent of businesses. All say the current tort system for auto accidents is costing insurance ratepayers as much as $2.8 billion a year in unnecessary attorney fees. Supporters say those in serious accidents collect, on average, only 9 percent of their losses, with the rest going to lawyers. By taking attorneys out of the equation, supporters maintain, no-fault will dramatically reduce auto insurance premiums and guarantee customers prompt payment of claims. Uninsured motorists will no longer be a concern, since all motorists will be required to carry insurance, and children and pedestrians will be fully covered. Backers say a similar no-fault law in Michigan has resulted in dramatic reductions in premiums.

Arguments Against: Opponents, including the Consumer Attorneys of California, Ralph Nader, Harvey Rosenfield, and a range of labor and health activist groups, say that, far from reducing costs, the history of no-fault is higher cost and inferior coverage. They maintain it is the insurance companies, rather than attorneys, who are artificially padding costs to jack up premiums. By eliminating the ability to define who's at fault in an accident, opponents argue, the initiative forces good drivers to subsidize bad drivers. They say the initiative contains no guarantee that rates will go down, and allows insurers to determine which medical procedures they'll pay for and which they won't. Consumer's Union, which has supported no-fault proposals in the Legislature, says this measure tilts the balance too heavily in favor of the insurance industry.

201: Attorney's Fees. Shareholder Actions. Class Actions.

Proposal: Proposition 201 attacks the class-action "strike suits" brought by a company's shareholders by implementing a "loser-pays" provision in actions based on securities-law violations. If the plaintiffs in the suit lose, or a judge rules the case is groundless, the plaintiffs must pay the "reasonable" legal costs of the defendants. If the suit is ultimately judged meritorious, and the plaintiffs win, reasonable legal fees will be paid to the plaintiff's lawyers over and above any settlement amount. The court has the discretion to impose the requirement on the plaintiff's attorneys, if the judge determines the plaintiffs themselves can't afford it. The court may also require plaintiffs to post a bond for the defendant's legal fees, if those plaintiffs don't own at least 5 percent of the company's stock. The legislative analyst says the fiscal impact of the measure is unknown, but probably minimal.

Arguments For: Proponents, which include all those supporting Proposition 200 along with computer executive Alan Shugart, brokerage executive Charles Schwab, and the California Chamber of Commerce, say shareholder class action suits are simply a means by which a few unscrupulous attorneys seek to earn a fast buck. These lawyers, say proponents, round up "professional plaintiff" shareholders anytime a company's stock drops, file a huge class-action suit, then wait for the company to settle out of court. High-tech companies, they argue, are especially vulnerable to these suits, as the stream of new products generates broad fluctuation in stock prices. According to proponents, these suits cost the state jobs and jack up the prices of products. Prop. 201, they say, will weed out the phony cases by holding plaintiffs' lawyers liable if their case proves groundless. Legitimate cases will still be filed, but "professional plaintiffs" won't want to the risk of being socked with a big legal bill.

Arguments Against: Opponents, which include those opposed to Proposition 200 along with the Congress of California Seniors and the Keating Victims Association of Leisure World, say the initiative is a direct assault on the rights of investors to hold companies accountable for bad or illegal investments. Opponents say that had Proposition 201 had been in effect a few years ago, victims of Charles Keating's Lincoln Savings and Loan debacle — largely elderly pensioners — would have been forced to post a huge bond before they could have sued, and could have been forced to pay Keating's legal fees. Opponents say the initiative is being bankrolled by high-tech executives who are looking for ways to reduce their exposure to legitimate lawsuits targeting the defrauding of investors. They contend the other two tort-reform initiatives were drafted to provide political cover for Proposition 201, which they say would never pass on its own merits.

202: Attorneys' Contingent Fees. Limits.

Proposal: Proposition 202 seeks to reduce the number of contingent-fee liability cases filed in civil courts by limiting their profitability to attorneys. In cases where a defendant offers an early settlement in a tort case, and the settlement is accepted, the plaintiff's attorney would be eligible to receive no more than 15 percent of the settlement. If the plaintiff rejects the settlement, the lawyer would be able to negotiate a larger percentage of any amount the plaintiff wins over and above the original settlement offer. For example, if a plaintiff settles a $200,000 lawsuit for $100,000, the lawyer would be entitled to only 15 percent of that $100,000. If the plaintiff wins the whole $200,000, the lawyer could negotiate for a larger percentage, but only on the second $100,000. The first $100,000 would still be subject to the 15 percent cap. Lawyers would be required to disclose details of their demands to defendants early in the process, in advance of the initial settlement offer, and would also be required to disclose details of the contingent-fee limitations to their clients. Attorneys working on an hourly-fee basis would not be covered by the restrictions.

Arguments For: Proponents, which include those for the above two measures along with the California Business Roundtable, blame the contingent-fee system for many of what they consider to be the excesses of the tort system. The current system, they argue, encourages the filing of frivolous lawsuits, which extort nuisance settlements out of companies, with lawyers pocketing as much as 40 percent of the settlement. Propo-

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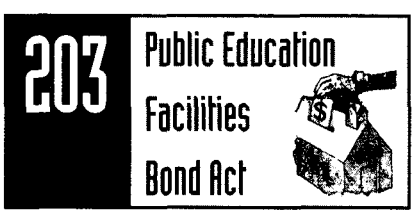
sition 202, they say, protects both plaintiffs and defendants by allowing for quick settlements and a cap on the amount the lawyer can skim off the top. Legitimate claims will be settled quicker, they contend, and more money will go to deserving victims. They also maintain the fee limitation will discourage the filing of phony suits, which they say kills jobs and costs the state's economy billions.

Arguments Against: Opponents, which include those mentioned for the above two initiatives along with the Utility Consumer Action Network and Mothers Against Drunk Drivers founder Candy Lightner, say Proposition 202 tilts the balance in civil liability cases away from the victims and toward the large corporate defendants. They note that the fee limitations apply only to the attorneys that represent lower-income clients who can't afford to pay a lawyer's hourly rates. Large corporate defendants, which can afford the big-money lawyers, won't have their rates limited. Opponents contend that, like Proposition 201, this measure would make it harder to hold bad actors like Charles Keating accountable for their misdeeds. They also say the limitations could make it harder to collect the kinds of punitive damages that keep dangerous products from being sold to consumers.



Background: Just a few years ago, education bonds were as close to a slam dunk as any other factor in California elections, invariably passing with more than 60 percent of the vote. But in the 1990s several factors have combined to diminish the popularity of education-related measures. First, there is general concern over the state's cumulative bonded debt. In addition, the voting population — as opposed to the population as a whole — is aging and thus less-interested in spending money on education. Finally, schools themselves have come under mounting criticism for, among other things, falling test scores and high dropout rates among students. The first inkling that something was amiss with school bonds came in 1992. Although voters passed bond measures in both June and November of that year, the margins of victory were substantially less than in previous years. Two years later, the unthinkable occurred when both school and higher-ed bonds failed in the June primary. In addition, many local school-bond measures, which require a two-thirds vote, have failed in recent years. As a result, Proposition 203 is the first school bond to appear on a statewide ballot since June 1994. And it almost did not make it. Although both Republicans and Democratic lawmakers expressed the need for a school-bond measure, the current proposal became enmeshed in partisan wrangling throughout 1995. Democrats wanted a stand-alone education bond, while Republicans wanted education bonds linked with another proposal to provide bonds for prison construction. As a result, both proposals were defeated in the final hours before the 1995 legislative session adjourned in September. The current, education-only proposal was revived when lawmakers returned in January, passing both houses on January 8th — the deadline set by the secretary of state for putting measures on the March primary ballot.

Proposal: Proposition 203 provides for the sale of $3 billion worth of general obligation bonds, with the proceeds to be used for the construction of classrooms, libraries and other needed facilities in the state's public schools, community colleges and public universities. Funds also may be used to make current classrooms earthquake safe, to provide computer technology, reduce class size and meet expenses associated with enrollment growth. The money may only be used for approved school construction projects.

Arguments for: Although specific ballot arguments had not been received by the secretary of state prior to press time, proponents of past school-bond measures have argued that new schools must be built to keep pace with the state's increasing enrollment and that since more than half of California schools are at least 30 years old, renovating them would improve the quality of the learning environment. Traditional proponents for school bonds include the state PTA, California School Boards Association, the state Chamber of Commerce and the California Taxpayers' Association.

Arguments against: Opponents traditionally have argued that bonds are not free money and that the interest on the bonds must be repaid from the state general fund. They have argued that school bonds do little to help the state's economy and that half of the state budget already is dedicated to education — primarily to bureaucrats. In the past, the Libertarian Party has opposed all bond measures, including those for education.

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Washington Notes

perspective

By Marc Sandalow

An insignificant primary

California's presidential primary is once again shaping up as an inconsequential stop on the road to the White House. Soon you will hear huffy protests from the state's political intelligentsia that tiny little New Hampshire and Iowa have more influence in selecting the leader of the free world than mighty California.

Don't let it spoil your rainy season.

It is true that California's primary once again will be relegated to stepchild status. By the time West Coast voters cast their ballots March 26th, more than half the delegates will have been selected and Bob Dole and Bill Clinton will almost certainly have their party's nominations wrapped up. This despite Sacramento's best efforts to give California a significant role by moving the state's primary from the first Tuesday in June to the last Tuesday in March.

"California is going to be the mother of all primaries," predicted GOP strategist Steve Merksamer, who like many others envisioned great things when Governor Pete Wilson signed the early primary law in October of 1993.

Things did not work out as planned.

Other states took California's lead and moved up their own party dates. What was once a four-month primary process has been mostly compressed into six weeks. Even in March, California is still at the end. There was a fleeting moment last fall when it appeared the California winner-take-all vote might serve as a climactic tiebreaker for a crowded GOP field. But after Colin Powell disappeared from the race, Dole shot so far ahead that such a scenario now appears to be a pipe dream.

"As it turns out, it is not going to be the mother of all primaries," said Merksamer, who is now an adviser in the Dole campaign. "My guess is that it will be over by March 26."

So who cares that California is left out of the primary fun?

Not the rest of the GOP field. With the exception of Steve Forbes, who could afford media buys on the moon, none of the other challengers have the cash to compete in the media-heavy state. The entire GOP field of nine candidates has yet to spend as much as Michael Huffington doled out of his own pocket in 1994 to run a California race.

What about the disenfranchised California voter?

It is instructive to look back at those distant years in which the California primary actually did make a difference. In 1972 California Democrats provided George McGovern the needed boost over Hubert Humphrey. And in 1964 it was California Republicans who allowed Barry Goldwater to knock off Nelson Rockefeller. Bolstered by their California victories, McGovern went on to capture 17 of 538 electoral votes. Goldwater won 52.

But what about those California issues that are now being overlooked in favor of topics like natural gas subsidies, granite futures and the New Hampshire credo that all taxes are morally bankrupt?

It is true that a grossly inordinate amount of attention is being lavished upon New Hampshire's 250,000 Republicans, about the same number that reside in Santa Clara or Riverside counties. Hardly an Elks' Club gathering or eggnog social goes by without the Senate majority leader or one of his rivals showing up in search of votes. If such events were held in California, the talk might turn to disaster relief, affirmative action or immigration.

But such gatherings rarely influence policy. The input of regular New Hampshire folks is poisoned by the swarm of political reporters and network television crews clamoring to capture any semblance of retail politicking. The combatants spend much of their time knocking each other. And it makes little difference whether Steve Forbes berates Phil Gramm in Manchester or Modesto. No matter how much Pat Buchanan tries to convince New Hampshirites he is a "Live Free or Die," kind of guy — most of the rhetoric will be forgotten long before November.

Which is California's saving grace. While candidates can afford to ignore New Hampshire on February 21st — the day after the primary — California can never be forgotten. It is simply too big and too politically potent to ignore.

"You can figure out a way for Bob Dole to win the Electoral College without California. But you cannot figure out a way for Bill Clinton to win without California," said Dole strategist Bill Lacy. "By definition, that makes it a battleground state. If we can deny California to Clinton, then Bob Dole is president."

So California issues will be addressed. Dole will attack Clinton for being loose on immigration and for allowing the state's defense industry to slump. Clinton will promote his record on trade and responding to natural disaster and will remind voters of his 21 trips to the state.

The biggest losers are California political consultants and reporters. Without the national focus on a Golden State primary, their expertise is in less demand. Consultants must find positions on national staffs or look for local races. California reporters hoping for interviews with candidates have to stand in line behind the guys who really matter — journalists with the *Manchester Union Leader, Nashua Telegraph* or *Keene Sentinel.*

Of course, the state does lose a few tourist dollars. Campaign staffers spare no expense, nor do reporters living on expense accounts. Such spending is so critical to New Hampshire that when Delaware threatened to hold its primary just four days after New Hampshire, indignant Granite State voters obtained pledges from all but two GOP candidates that they would shun the Delaware event.

Fortunately for California, there are other ways to attract attention to the state.

Marc Sandalow is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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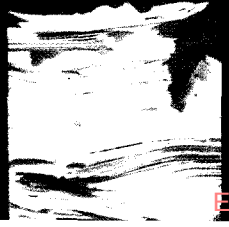

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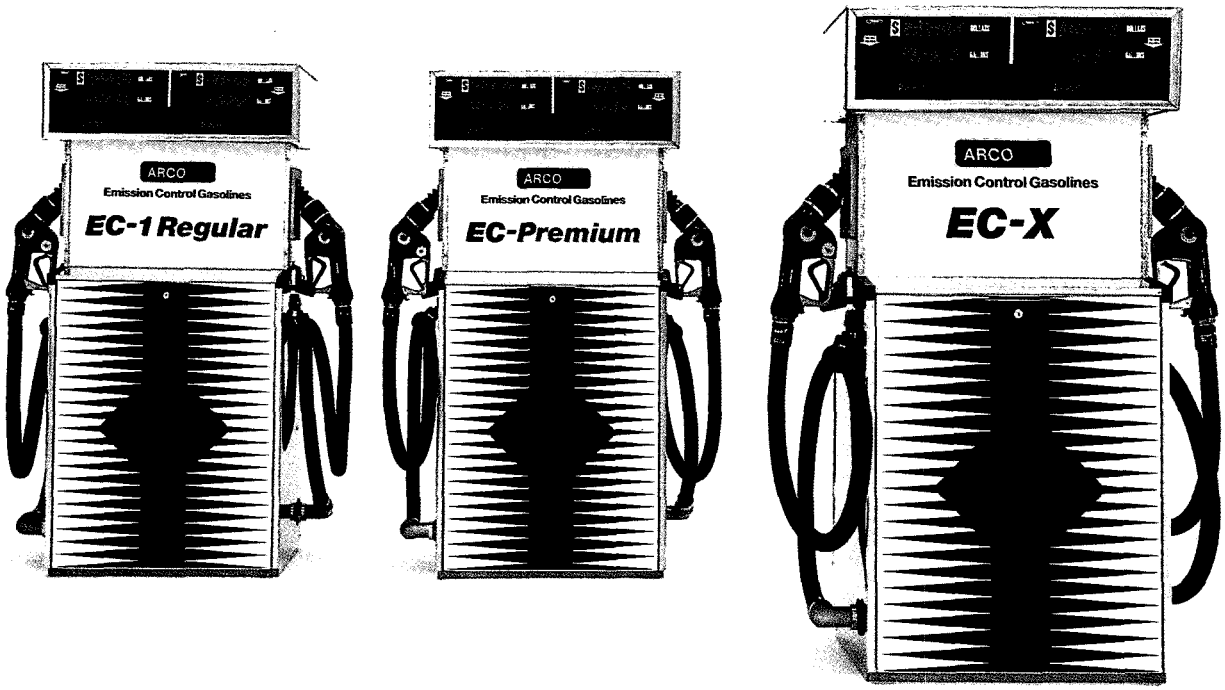

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